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CHAPTERS FROM BREZHNEV'S 'REMINISCENCES'



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Noviy Mir No 1, Jan 83

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NATIONAL

CHAPTERS FROM BREZHNEV'S "REMINISCENCES"

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[Three chapters from "Vospominaniya" [Reminiscences] by L. I. Brezhnev:
"Chapters from the book 'Reminiscences'"*]

[Text]

MOLDAVIAN SPRING

1.

Upon preceding with this new chapter, I thought about the fact that it was necessary to work on my notes with a considerable time separation from the events which occurred. This presents certain difficulties: some details and facts become lost, disappear. But the distance of time nevertheless does offer certain advantages: the memory sifts through the past, as it were, preserving the most characteristic and the most important.

The beginning of the 1950's was an important period of my life, when I was assigned to work in Soviet Moldavia. Once again it was necessary to leave a smoothly-functioning job and to travel to another region, where it would be necessary to begin a great deal from the ground up.

I shall state quite frankly that I always departed from previous job assignments with great regret. On the other hand I must admit that moves to new places are inevitable in the life of a party worker. One was pleased by the trust of the party and people, and a job which was more difficult and as a rule more responsible compelled an inner concentration and engendered heightened interest in the new Central Committee assignment.

I remember well that hot summer when, having gathered myself together quickly, in the military manner, I departed on what one might call a first reconnaissance journey to Moldavia. This was preceded by a briefing at the ACP(b)

*Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev worked on his book "Reminiscences" for a number of years. Following the author's wishes, our journal was the first to publish all the chapters of this book. NOVYY MIR offers our readers three chapters of "Reminiscences," on which the author was working during these last years.

[All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks)] Central Committee, where I was warned that the situation in this young Soviet republic was rather difficult. For two years in a row this region had been plagued by drought, and although, as is customary, assistance had already been sent from other parts of the country, the republic was faced with difficult problems to be solved.

What was the specific nature of Moldavia's situation at that time? It was one of the youngest union republics. Its right-bank part had not experienced, together with the entire country, the grandiose school of Soviet construction. Within just a few years it had to accomplish the journey of entire five-year plans or even decades. All those processes which had already taken place in the other republics over a longer period of time were swiftly advancing in Moldavia. Some remote areas beyond the Dnestr would have to advance toward socialism by the shortest path.

Moldavia was traditionally a region of peasant farmers. The psychology of the peasant could not be restructured instantaneously. I realized how difficult it would be for him to part with his property -- with his plow and his little plot of land. It was necessary to convince, precisely to convince the individual peasant farmers of the advantages of collective agriculture, to demonstrate not in words but in deeds that the form of socialization of labor, which was new to many Moldavian peasants, was most in conformity with their vital interests.

It was as if I had gone backward in time: the problems which had long ago been solved, which were now a thing of the past in the Russian villages, in the villages of Belorussia and the Ukraine, where I had worked, once again were on the agenda. This meant that just as during the years of my Komsomol youth, it would be necessary to campaign in favor of kolkhozes, to pick up the pace of industrialization, to strengthen the role of the worker class, and to concern oneself with the emergence and growth of indigenous ethnic cadres.

All this was discussed at the briefing session at the ACP(b) Central Committee, to which I was summoned at the end of June 1950. I was told that the Central Committee felt that the Moldavian party organization needed at that time a person who was capable of taking a fresh look at the difficult situation prevailing there.

Soon thereafter this subject was also discussed at a plenum of the Moldavian CP(b) Central Committee, at which I was recommended to the post of head of the republic party organization. The stenographic record of that plenum has been preserved; the people at the party archives recently sent it to me. I read it with interest. The document is uniquely instructive. "Comrade Brezhnev," reads the Central Committee nomination document which was presented at the plenum, "a party member for more than 20 years, is a comparatively young man, in full health and vigor. He is a land use surveyor and metallurgist by profession, and knows industry and agriculture well, which he has demonstrated over the course of a number of years by his performance as an oblast committee first secretary. He is an experienced, energetic, vigorous individual; he went through the entire war, has the rank of general, and has a firm hand...."

Quite frankly, I had definite ideas about a firm hand, and they have not changed much since that time. I did not endeavor then and do not seek now to command in party or in any other work. I make this comment because unfortunately it has been my experience to encounter officials who, without thoroughly examining the situation, and seeing only the external side of facts and phenomena, gliding across the surface, as they say, along their outer shell, would be too quick to issue orders, give instructions, and to draw organizational conclusions. Is that a sign of strength? I think not.

As experience shows, such individuals, deep down inside aware of their own weakness, are inclined to substitute premature decisions for thoughtful analysis, to act in the flush of emotions, or else, what is even worse, from personal arrogance. Thus begin planting of crops by dictate, harvesting ahead of schedule, last-minute rush work to complete construction jobs, and inflated pledges....

Command methods have long since been irrevocably condemned in our party. I have always rejected them, and I still today see the need persistently and purposefully to teach cadres to use profound party-mindedness in the exercise of authority -- in all positions and posts, without a single exception.

The experience of working in the military, particularly at the front, taught me to appreciate in people above all other things willingness to help, discipline, and responsibility for the assigned task. In my opinion no organization is even conceivable without this. And the more complex the situation, and it was indeed complicated in Moldavia, the more necessary these traits are. We Communists proceed from the only correct, Leninist thesis: before making a decision, it should and must be discussed and weighed. But after a decision has been reached collectively, it should be carried out without question. Essential for this is effective monitoring and verification. Answerability is required from those to whom the party has assigned decision execution. This also I would call order and discipline, not a firm hand, as some people like to call it.

2.

Upon arriving in Moldavia, I did not sit around the capital waiting for the plenum, but immediately headed out into the rayons -- I wanted to see the area for myself, an area about which I knew only from what I had read; I wanted to talk with people, to learn of their concerns, and what they expected of us party officials. In my long years of party work I had developed the habit of beginning with workforces and party organizations when becoming acquainted with an area. If you acquire an eye, you see everything and feel what the problems are.

This was the case on this occasion as well. We dropped in on the Chimishliyskiy Rayon party committee. I walked into the secretary's office. We introduced ourselves.

"Aftenyuk, German Trofimovich."

"Brezhnev, Leonid Il'ich. Representative of the Central Committee."

I saw that he was not that pleased to see me.

"Well, any problems?"

"How should I put it.... There are already five people here from Kishinev. They suddenly swooped in on us, and are dogging our heels. We are right in the middle of the harvest, with a big crop to bring in, and they choose precisely this time to prep us to present an accountability report to the Central Committee Bureau. We have to furnish them with consolidated data, drive them here and there.... Is that also why you are here?"

The fellow's displeasure over the arrival of inopportune visitors was so artless that both of us broke into a smile.

"No," I replied. "I am from Moscow. I am familiarizing myself with your republic."

"Well, in that case, no problem.... Perhaps you will be able to help us."

"What is the problem?"

"The typical problem at harvest time -- combine harvesters of course. As well as combine operators. Where can we obtain them? There is nobody available to train. Young people for the most part."

"Well, let's go out to the fields...."

On the Kolkhoz imeni Karl Marx we drove up to a large stand of wheat. The stand was on uneven ground, on a hill. The grain crop looked really fine. A combine was rumbling off in the distance. A straw buncher stood abandoned on the side of the road. We got out of the car and walked toward the combine. I saw that the operator was a young lad. I was told that this was his first harvest.

"Why did you unhitch the straw collector? Or did it break down?"

"It did not break down, but it is totally worthless! It is heavier than the combine itself, and gives us nothing but problems. The fact is we can't pull it on the hills here. It even causes the radiator to boil over. The machine will be wrecked in no time."

I looked at this lad -- he was absolutely right! Obviously he was very concerned about the machine and was trying very hard to do a good job: the stubble trailing behind the combine was faultless. As I recall, I squatted down next to the lad. I drew a sketch on a sheet of paper from my note pad: two lengthwise planks, and a rope so that the combine operator could adjust the rig from above.... I asked him if he understood what I meant, and I saw that he not only understood but was quite pleased....

"I'll be damned! How is it that we didn't figure it out for ourselves! It's so simple."

"Say thanks," I said, "to your Ukrainian comrades. I saw such a device in the Ukraine. And there is no need to be angry at the straw collector. It will work just fine on flat ground."

Sometime later I learned that this invention by the Ukrainian combine operators had proved effective not only on this kolkhoz but also in other rayons in Moldavia with hilly terrain.

That same day my driver Misha, Mikhail Georgiyevich Fomin, who had been with me since during the war, continued driving the rayon committee secretary and me on our inspection tour. Somewhere near Mikhaylovka we saw another combine, standing in the middle of a field. We walked over to it. The motor was running. The combine operator looked up from under the header. I could scarcely believe my eyes: it was a girl.... At this moment tragedy almost struck -- when she turned, her hair got caught in the combine's drive mechanism. She screamed, and I, I don't exactly remember how I did it, quickly climbed into the cab and switched off the motor. Tragedy was averted. The girl stood up, pale, but tried to smile.

"Well, how are you feeling?"

"Just fine."

We waited until the combine started off through the wheat and waved goodbye to her.

"You have good farm machinery operator personnel, German Trofimovich," I said to him. "As soon as they get some experience, they will become first-rate combine operators."

"Yes, the kids are not bad, but we keep them from their job. Each one must be formally approved at the rayon committee. That takes time, and every minute counts here in the wheatfields."

"What do you say to this: we shall not eliminate the formal approval process, but let's do it this way -- rather than them coming in to the rayon committee, have rayon committee people go out to the fields to them."

Upon my return to Kishinev from this first familiarization tour, I immediately called the then first secretary of the Moldavian CP(b) Central Committee, N. G. Koval': "Is it right what you are doing, right in the middle of the harvest to take people away from their work for verifications and reports? At such a time it is necessary to save time."

During my tour of the rayons I also encountered other problems. The situation was bad in the villages on the right bank of the Dnestr.

The soil there is the same fertile soil as on the left bank of the Dnestr, where Soviet rule was established right after the October Revolution; there are the same hills with orchards, woods and coppices, called kodry there, the same valleys and steppe. But the farm buildings on the right bank were not much to look at, the peasant huts were pretty bad, roofed with reeds and straw, and the people were barefoot and poorly dressed, one patch on top of another. But the main thing, as I had already mentioned, was that wherever you looked the land was a patchwork of small individual fields separated by balks.

Moldavia, as I subsequently became convinced, possessed the most favorable conditions for becoming one of our nation's breadbaskets. Extremely fertile soils (in Moldavia they say: stick in a stake and it will blossom), plenty of warmth, and hardworking peasants. But droughts and a chronic shortage of moisture had long been a real scourge of these areas. These people, who had finally been given possession of their land, had experienced two years of crop failures in a row. In conditions of private-ownership farming, which had existed in the right-bank areas, there was nothing at all with which to fight drought -- in these areas water was collected and stored by the most primitive methods. I never even imagined I would see such a situation.

I was told by old-timers in the area that in spite of the physical devastation and hunger of the first postwar years, the peasants in Bessarabia had labored selflessly. There were cases where peasants, becoming exhausted, would fall in the furrow behind their plow or would collapse with scythe in hand. These harsh trials failed to break the people's spirit. The first kolkhozes appeared beyond the Dnestr. Help also arrived, generously given by our country; trains were running day and night, hauling trucks, tractors, combines, building materials, grain and meat, but up to that time return on efforts had been minimal. It was necessary quickly to obtain return on the enormous assets which had been invested in the republic's economy -- this was the task.

A Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee plenum was held in July 1950, to discuss the ACP(b) Central Committee decree on deficiencies in the performance of the Moldavian party organization. This was my first plenum in Moldavia.

I should note that everybody who spoke at the plenum presented frank talk, addressing the matter at hand pointedly, in a true party manner. I recall what N. Ye. Gaponov, Kamenskiy Rayon party committee secretary, said. In particular, he cited the following example: in the previous 6 months the rayon committee had been sent 159 decisions of various kinds by the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, and yet not a single Central Committee official had set foot in the rayon in more than 3 years. I remember walking up to him during a break and saying: "You are plowing deep, Comrade Gaponov, good man!"

He replied: "I have stated what is bothering everybody.... But some people come up to me and give me advice: You, they say, had better clean up the minutes of this meeting, so that they don't take revenge on you later."

I cheered him up: stand your ground, I said, when you feel you are right, and I will not let people give you any trouble. At that point I was struck by

the thought that here was another illustration applicable to the issue of problems with criticism -- it was evident that cadres had learned lessons from bitter experience.

I should give credit where credit is due to my predecessor, N. G. Koval', however: in his statements he was fairly self-critical, severe in assessing his own mistakes and those of the bureau. And I would like to state that he was an honest man, who had worked hard, and it had indeed been difficult for him during those first years. That's the way it goes, our party work: at certain stages a person works hard and does his job well, but then it sometimes happens that he loses his sense of the future, his acuity of party vision, and begins accepting some things as inevitable; when this happens, like it or not, one must replace him. There is no reason to take offense in such a case, if you are thinking about the interests of the cause, if you are concerned for the good of the people and the nation's needs. As for Nikolay Grigor'yevich Koval', he did a pretty fair job to the end of his days as chairman of Moldavia's Gosplan and accomplished a great deal toward development of that republic's economy.

3.

My days at the office were quite busy from the very outset -- visitors, requests, and reports. It was constantly necessary to work on solving problems which determined in large measure the future of that region, its role and place in the family of brother republics, and the welfare of its working people.

At that time agriculture was the most critical work sector. Judging by the figures, collectivization was proceeding well. But even on that day when I received a report that more than 80 percent of peasant households in the republic were now organized into kolkhozes, I did not hasten with reaching conclusions. Of course it was a considerable achievement, but there still remained rayons in which as many as half of the peasants had not joined kolkhozes, and kolkhozes which had been established could not be considered strong, full-fledged operations.

At that time I frequently was present at meetings at which decisions were reached in heated debate to establish collective farms, and I would frequently read reports about these farms. The majority of Moldavian peasants did not entertain doubts about the usefulness of this form of organization of labor, which was new to them. But I knew that words alone would not convince them. People wanted to see with their own eyes just what a kolkhoz was. It would have been wrong simply to tell them: come on, get moving and pool your landholdings, livestock, and farmsteads. The task as I saw it was to establish well-organized kolkhozes, and using them as an example, to persuade the peasant of the benefit derived from collective farming. Such kolkhozes -- forming bases, as it were -- also seemed to me to be important as a school for developing party and economic activists.

I remember, working together with D. G. Tkach, secretary of the Moldavian CP(b) Central Committee, we organized our first agricultural exhibit. It was visited by hundreds of informal peasant delegates and dozens of group

delegations. In many instances these delegations subsequently became the nucleus of future strong kolkhozes.

At the same time we had to realize that the Moldavian peasant, who only yesterday had submitted his request for kolkhoz membership, could not instantly overcome within himself the private-ownership psychology which had become so deeply rooted over the centuries. We were also hindered by the weakness of cadres in the village and by hostile activities on the part of antisocialist elements.

The kolkhoz system had enemies. Most frequently they would inflict their harm little by little: by slander, by acts of provocation, sometimes they would get themselves into kolkhoz management positions, they would get their supporters into management positions, and they would make every effort to undermine the peasants' faith in the kolkhozes. They also took up sawed-off shotguns, and although such actions were not of a mass nature, nevertheless they did claim victims in the course of collectivization. Those killed included the deputy chairman of the Chuchulenskiy village soviet in Strashenskiy Rayon, N. P. Pagu, the agricultural agent in the village of Zguritsy in Zguritskiy Rayon, I. K. Prisakar'; I. A. Bogonos, a Komsomol activist from the village of Myndreshty, in Kishkarenskiy Rayon; M. A. Piskarya, chairman of the women's council of the village of Zhabka, in Floreshtski Rayon, and others.

I must say that the party organization displayed genuinely revolutionary vigilance and Bolshevik implacability in the struggle against the enemies of socialism.

At that time the level of party guidance of the kolkhozes was truly the deciding factor. On one of my visits to Drokiyevskiy Rayon I saw literally two worlds along a single village street. Two kolkhozes had been established in the village on the same day -- 27 August 1947. One of them was making strides forward, while the other was dying on the vine. The former had acquired more than 20 pieces of complex machinery during these years, had increased the size of its communally-owned livestock herds, kolkhoz member cash income had risen sixfold, and the grain harvest was growing year by year. Things were quite different on the other kolkhoz: yields were 5-6 quintals lower, livestock were dying off, and kolkhoz member incomes were miserably low. The chairman had been replaced on several occasions, but this had changed nothing.

We began examining the performance of the party organizations. What did we find? The thriving kolkhoz had a growing, militant organization, Communists were in charge of decisive production sectors, and the kolkhoz chairman was constantly consulting them for advice. On the poorly-performing farm the Communists were doing nothing whatsoever, and had even stopped holding meetings. The chairman was left on his own, without help or support. Things were corrected in the party organization, and the farm proceeded to make strides forward.

At a conference of party-economic activists I quoted a passage I had committed to memory from Valentin Ovechkin's novella "S frontovym privetom" [Greetings

From the Front]. In this novella a kolkhoz farmer fighting at the front has the following to say about poor collective farms: "There is little joy in the life of the people on such lagging kolkhozes.... Why is it that we do not have this term in the army -- lagging regiment, lagging battalion? It would be interesting if some regiment failed to carry out an operation order, and the division commander proceeded to excuse it before the commanding general of the army: 'But what can you expect of it, comrade general; it has been a lagging regiment since the very beginning of the war'."

Our well-known writer makes a valid point. Even today one can sometimes find behind mediocre performance figures a shabby kolkhoz or sovkhos which fails in every harvest campaign. But for some reason people become accustomed to such a farm, apparently reasoning that lagging operations are inevitable alongside strong ones.

This discussion still has relevance today. We should be concerned not only by the economic consequences but also by the moral loss inflicted on society by such inefficient workforces in agriculture, industry, and on construction jobs as well. By failing to give the country goods it needs, they create difficulties in planning and interruptions in supply. And who if not party organizations should ask each such workforce and its leaders: do you have a conscience, comrades? It is necessary to go to each such enterprise, kolkhoz, sovkhos, construction job, establishment, branch or sector of the economy, to examine thoroughly the reasons for deficiency in performance, and to find ways to eliminate these causes: to mete out strict punishment in some cases, in other cases to raise the moral and financial responsibility of each individual for the results of his labor, and in still other instances to replace "command personnel" if they are incapable of organizing the job properly.

I recall once visiting Moldavia's Nisporenskiy Rayon. We talked for a while with secretary Valeriy Ivanovich Kryzhanovskiy, at which point he proposed: "Come on, Leonid Il'ich, I want to show you some things. You won't regret it!"

We set out. Beyond a turn in the road I saw the large village of Mileshty, which contained about 800 households. But even the roofs of the buildings were barely visible -- they were surrounded by gardens.

"Down there, see...."

I could see the dark forms of some objects below -- from this distance I could not make out whether they were tractors or something else. We drove closer: they were smashed fascist tanks. Fifteen of them! We stopped the car and reminisced about the war. Valeriy Ivanovich had also been through the war, and had been wounded. We combat veterans did not need to strain our imagination to picture what had taken place on this low-lying ground and what it had cost our soldiers to drive the fascists out of here! But they did dislodge them. And for that reason this orchard now seemed to us to be blossoming twice as bountifully. As we walked along the even rows of blossoming trees, unable to drink in our fill of the beauty around us, I suddenly caught sight of some plowed strips between the rows of trees.

"What is that plowed ground?" I inquired.

"Property boundaries. But not private-ownership, but kolkhoz. Here in Mileshty there are two kolkhozes and a sovkhov on the former estate of a land-owner who had fled the area. The orchard was also his; it had been planted and cared for by Mileshty farmhands, and following liberation they divided it in a fraternal, fair way."

"What about the fruit? Where do they market it?"

"It is distributed on the basis of labor-days worked, the sovkhov processes it, but a good deal spoils. It is 16 kilometers by dirt road to the nearest railway station. When it rains, hauling becomes difficult."

That evening we met the kolkhoz members and sovkhov workers. When we discussed their plans for the future, I steered the conversation to the orchard: Let's get together, I said, and think about how to utilize such a rich resource. What sense does it make to divide it up into separate plots -- it is making care and cultivation difficult, and the crop is dissipated in a rather unbeneficial manner. They agreed with me. Later, when they set about to "consolidate" the orchard, a certain individual of wisdom had the following suggestion: "How about putting all the rest in a common pot as well? One village, one farm. Let's give it a try!" Thus the kolkhozes in the village of Mileshty merged into a single operation.

We supported this initiative, gave equipment to the consolidated kolkhoz (initially it had a common pool of 150 oxen -- that represented their entire motive power), and we also gave whatever other assistance we could. As for the orchard, with which everything had begun, it became practically the main source of income. The kolkhoz members added to it a fair number of nice plum trees, and they hauled thousands of tons of fruit to the cannery which was built soon thereafter. From that time the republic's fruit-growing rayons proceeded along the line of establishing large orchards.

Twenty years later, in 1971, I stopped off in Moldavia while on my way to a congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party. I was shown one of the largest orchards in Ungenskiy Rayon. Of course there was no comparison between it and the previous orchards -- it covered approximately 4,000 hectares, and the most modern palmette method was used in shaping the trees. Truly an orchard of the future. I said to the orchard's owners upon bidding farewell: "May your orchard blossom a thousand years!"

At that time the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin in Mileshty became one of the first consolidated artels in the republic. And that first experiment prompted us to proceed along the most correct path under those conditions, of further consolidation of the kolkhoz system in Moldavia. Following a detailed study of the question and its discussion at the Central Committee Bureau, this course of policy was adopted throughout the republic, although this meant certain expenses in the early stages. But we did not fear difficulties; we preferred long-term over near-term objectives and, as practical experience demonstrated, we were right. Today there is a powerful sovkhov-factory in Mileshty.

In order that the reader can gain a fuller picture of the specific features of working in that young republic and the unique atmosphere of those years, I shall tell about the so-called anti-combine attitudes. If you can imagine, they affected not only the peasants but also some kolkhoz chairmen, activists, and even some people in the rayon committees.

Once I was taking a tour of some rayons together with Gerasim Yakovlevich Rud', chairman of the republic Council of Ministers. I remember one night, somewhere near Vulkaneshty, our headlights picked up a combine standing in a field. We drove up. The vehicle's motor had quit. The combine operator had apparently been working on the problem for hours, but was unable to find the problem: the motor would not start, and that was all there was to it. This offered grist to the gossip and rumor mills, which claimed that these machines were no good at all. While a bullock, as we all know, does not break down: give him a flick of the whip, and the "malfunction" is corrected. We remained in that field for quite some time.

Truck drivers know how it happens: you walk over to take a look at what a fellow truck driver is working on under the hood, you say "check such-and-such," but he doesn't know where the thing is located. You crawl in yourself and do not notice how involved you are getting, and you end up getting covered with grease. This is what happened here. We checked the plugs, the distributor, everything you would check -- but it would not start. At that point we had to roll up our sleeves -- there was no retreating now. We worked on the thing until dawn, but we finally got it to start.

We parted friends with the combine operator.

But this, as they say, was a roadside incident. But the essence of the problem was as follows. Some farm managers, without taking the trouble to become properly acquainted with the machines which at that time embodied revolutionary transformations in the village, or to study their truly unlimited possibilities, succumbed to the attitudes of a backward segment of the kolkhoz members. The fact is that these peasants, who had barely commenced working together and who had not yet gotten to know the advantages of collective farming, were apprehensive that utilization of equipment connected with payment in kind would have a pernicious effect on the kolkhoz budget. These notions were skillfully encouraged by all kinds of hostile elements, and management personnel, instead of patiently explaining to people that a sharp upswing by the farm and an increase in farm income were possible only with utilizing machinery, themselves sometimes would be captured by backward notions.

Today all these "anti-combine attitudes" can only cause a feeling of puzzlement. But let us not forget about the time in this republic's biography about which we are talking. At that time these attitudes caused us plenty of problems. Indeed, at the end of 1951, when Moldavia had received an additional more than 5,000 tractors, 1,370 combines, and as many as 23,000 other pieces of farm equipment, almost half of the MTS [Machine-Tractor Stations] failed to meet the plan targets. We had to subject these issues to serious discussion at conferences, and sometimes we had to resort to tough measures. But of course it was necessary first and foremost to teach people, who prior to that time had known only oxen, to operate machinery.

This was no easy matter: it was necessary to achieve a radical change in the psychology of the peasant who prior to Soviet rule frequently had not even owned a bullock, and yet nevertheless had been a private farmer. Having gained a rather deep sense of this and understanding it from numerous talks and conversations with people -- at field camps, in cornfields, and simply on the side of the road -- I felt that it was my duty to give precise orientation to middle and lower-level party officials to the effect that for the time being we could not approach the Moldavian kolkhoz farmer with the same measuring stick with which we worked with people in the other republics, on farms which were already firmly established and possessed considerable collective experience.

Our party never has considered and does not now consider the building of the material and technological foundation of socialism, and subsequently of communism as well as an end in itself. For us the principle of "Everything for the good of man, everything on behalf of man!" has defined and continues to define the essence of CPSU policy at all stages of the emergence and development of our socialist state. We also consistently implemented this principle in Moldavia in that period when it was repeating, as it were, although under new conditions as well, the path which the entire country had once trod. Establishing cooperative agriculture, creating the republic's industry from the ground up, and boosting its level of culture and science, we always bore in mind the main goal -- the education of a new man. At that time, in the 1950's, an enormous role was played in this effort in Moldavia by the MTS political sections, which were established by decree of the ACP(b) Central Committee. They numbered about 100. Party rayon committee officials and Central Committee staff personnel selected experienced Communists, who knew and loved the village, to the positions of political section chief, deputy chief, women's organizers and editors of political-section newspapers. They had before them the difficult job of reorganizing the Moldavian village.

4.

Working in Moldavia, I read a great deal on that region's past. Moldavian chronicler Grigoriy Ureke sadly called his homeland "a country on the road of all misfortunes." For centuries the people inhabiting the land between the Prut and the Dnestr had been forced to wage a savage struggle for the right to govern their own destiny, and at times for the very right to existence. Their aspiration for a way of life worthy of man, for freedom and independence had always found understanding and evoked a strong response in the minds and hearts of progressive people in Russia.

I should remind the reader that the Moldavian people, under the guidance of their Bolshevik organization, established Soviet rule throughout the entire territory of the republic immediately after the Great October Revolution, in 1918. But soon international imperialism detached Bessarabia from the Soviet homeland.

While the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, proclaimed in 1924, was successfully building a life according to the laws of socialism, along the left bank of the Dnestr, the right-bank portion of Moldavia was living according to different laws.

I recall colorful stories by Yemel'yan Bukov. Today he is a famous writer, a Hero of Socialist Labor; his writings have been published in many countries. The following has been written abroad about his book "Andriyesh": "More copies of Bukov's book have been printed in foreign languages than the total population of his republic." During that time in Kishinev, I met him on numerous occasions.

"You know," he once said to me, "it wasn't until 1940 that I was able freely to sing the Internationale."

A great deal lies behind this biographical item. Bukov was an underground Komsomol member in prewar Bessarabia. He received his first royalty, for the poem "Ballad of Lenin," which he read at clandestine meetings... in the form of a whipping at the police station. He was given as many lashes as there were lines in the poem. There were also other arrests, but he refused to accept the prevailing system and continued to fight for that which he loved. And I saw him working with all the passion of his poet's heart and the conviction of a Communist on building a new life.

Yes, there was an inner support, which had formed over the centuries in the Moldavian people, for all of us -- people's aspiration to build a life on principles of social justice, a love of freedom, and revolutionary spirit. A print shop for the underground Leninist ISKRA had operated here, on Moldavian soil, and the Moldavians had given the revolution native sons who became the pride of the entire Soviet people -- Mikhail Frunze, Grigoriy Kotovskiy, and Sergey Lazo.

In 1940 the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic joined the fraternal union of our country's peoples as a full and equal sister. Soon the Moldavians were defending their newly obtained homeland shoulder to shoulder with all the brother peoples. The fighting men of the Moldavian 95th Division were among the first to engage the fascists. It took part in the Battle of Stalingrad and was given the guards appellation. More than 250,000 Moldavians fought in the ranks of the Soviet Army; I met Moldavians at the front -- they were intrepid fighting men.

Just as everywhere else, the war brought incalculable suffering to Moldavia. I arrived in Kishinev 5 years after our victory, but I found demolished streets and entire city blocks, which were still awaiting rebuilding. Tiraspol', Bel'tsy, Bendery, Orgeyev, and many rayon seats lay in ruin. I saw a great many destroyed villages, burned-out orchards and vineyards.

The war had consumed and mangled a great many lives. Looking at today's Moldavia, it is difficult to imagine what battles raged here during the war. Not only did it not lag behind in its development but was being transformed literally before our very eyes. And all of this is imprinted in my memory.

In prewar Bessarabia, for example, workers comprised only 0.31 percent of the population, while today one out of every two able-bodied citizens is employed in industry. Yesterday's plowmen and vintners are manufacturing foundry equipment, modern electric motors and sounding equipment, first-class tractors, and high-precision instruments. Or take culture and science. In a region

where only one out of every 10 people could sign his name, there is working today a detachment of national intelligentsia numbering 300,000.

And all this became possible thanks to the enormous assistance given to Moldavia by the brother union republics in cultural development, in improving education, and in training cadres. Large numbers of persons sent from this young republic studied at higher educational institutions in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, and other major Soviet cities. Higher educational institutions and secondary technical schools were established in Moldavia. Through the will of the party, the socialist cultural revolution was swiftly making its way into every Moldavian city, town and village. During my time in Moldavia, that republic outstripped such countries as Denmark, Italy, Sweden, and France in total number of students per 10,000 population.

I recall the debates among Moldavian scholars over the contents of the republic's first Soviet primer, while today Moldavian scientists are taking part in the conquest of space: the Oazis-2 experimental unit -- a prototype of a life-support unit in orbit, which was designed and built in Moldavia, operated successfully on board the Soyuz-13 spacecraft.

Yes, our country's history is measured not only in years. We judge our past and present by right according to the scale of what has been done and accomplished. This applies to every one of our republics and to the entire historic path trod by the Soviet people.

If we discount the war and the first postwar years, which were spent rebuilding what the war had destroyed, there has been only slightly more than 30 years of development of Moldavia, for example, within the family of Soviet peoples. But what an enormous journey it has accomplished during this short time! The republic has become one of our country's breadbaskets and one of our major fruit-growing and wine-making centers. And its industrial output volume has increased 52-fold over 1940.

I must admit that it is pleasing indeed to cite such performance results. And it is doubly gratifying to have been personally involved in this development.

5.

I recall a word which was heard most frequently in Moldavia at our meetings, conferences, and in the Central Committee Bureau -- the word was "cadres." At that time, at the beginning of the 1950's, it was necessary to think first and foremost about cadres, more boldly to advance and indoctrinate local ethnic cadres -- I considered this to be a decisive condition for success.

It was obvious that no amount of tractors and combines could by themselves advance the horseless village to socialism if dedicated, knowledgeable organizers did not stand at the head of the kolkhozes, sovkhoses, MTS, rayon and primary party organizations. No amount of capital investment would transform primitive workshops (the only industry the annexed portion of Moldavia contained) into modern socialist enterprises if these funds did not go into the reliable hands of skilled economic managers. It was necessary to seek out such

organizers and leader personnel without delay, to test them in practical matters, to rear them, as they say, while on the move.

I had been given broad authorities, including in the area of reassignment of cadres. My entire past experience suggested, however, that the only thing that could produce the required effect was painstaking work with people. This is why we reached a firm agreement in the Central Committee at that time not to shuffle officials around without need, to give each individual an opportunity to prove his ability. It would sometimes happen that things would get heated up during the discussion of a misdeed by some official. At such a time I would interrupt the discussion: "Comrades, let's postpone the decision; let's cool off a bit and think about it." As a result we were able to save a useful individual, who subsequently would confirm by his deeds that the lapse in his performance had been temporary.

We did, it is true, also encounter individuals of the sort with whom it was useless to hold long discussions. For example, the Central Committee received a letter from the kolkhoz farmers of Vulkaneshtskiy Rayon. One Malevich had been in charge of agriculture there and, although he had fouled up a great many job assignments, they kept transferring him to another assignment until he ended up as chairman of a kolkhoz, where he also engaged in drunkenness and thievery. "All this," the kolkhoz farmers wrote, "has forced us to trouble you and request that a commission be sent out. Help us get rid of an element alien to the kolkhoz system and, with the assistance of honest officials, to make our kolkhoz a Bolshevik farm and to make us prosperous."

An investigation confirmed these facts, and we immediately removed this individual from his chairman post and expelled him from the party.

We waged the most determined struggle against people of this kind. But such clashes did not undermine my faith in people. On the contrary, efficient workers, who simply had not had the opportunity to show their ability, became even more obvious against the comparison of the former. Sometimes circumstances are such that it is difficult even for a capable individual fully to reveal his abilities. And it was always pleasant later to see that such an attitude toward people -- even with somewhat of an overstatement of their capabilities, with faith in their future important contribution -- would be proven out.

I was fortunate enough to encounter good people. Probably for the simple reason that in general there are more of them than bad people. Six months after I had arrived in the republic, I knew all the rayon committee secretaries, not to mention Central Committee staff officials, and I was acquainted with the majority of kolkhoz chairmen, managers of sovkhoses, MTS, and industrial enterprises, and I knew their strong and weak points. The overwhelming majority were genuine Communists and true workers, who worked hard in their jobs.

Life was still difficult then: few houses were being built, and there was a shortage of goods. I once summoned one of our instructors to my office to obtain a situation report -- he had returned from the rayon. He walked in. I saw that his trousers were worn down to a shine and that they had worn completely through at the knees. He hid his legs behind the desk.

"Well," I said, "why is it they are so worn?"

"To tell you the truth, Leonid Il'ich, I can't make ends meet on my salary. The times are bad, as you yourself know...."

"Yes, I know."

I also knew another thing. He was a good worker, had begun his combat career at Khalkhin-Gol, and had been wounded and decorated. I immediately called my administrative head. I then told my visitor: "I want you to go right now to the administrative head -- he will make out a one-time cash grant for a suit. Go out and buy it immediately, and then come back and see me. We can have our talk, and at the same time see how the suit fits."

Life was difficult for many at that time. I could see this. I made frequent visits to the market, going into stores and restaurants. Sometimes I would take along somebody from the Central Committee or Council of Ministers -- let's see what we are giving people to eat and wear. We would walk, look, and talk with kolkhoz farmers and the buying public. Typically people did not complain: that's all right, they would say, we experienced worse during the war. But it was obvious that the situation regarding foodstuffs and goods was bad; primary necessities were in short supply. These conversations and encounters were very useful, as they served to urge us on: we must move faster, we must work, work.

I spent a good deal of time visiting the rayons. Frequently I would take a meal at the side of the road or in a wooded area, and our meal would be whatever we could scrounge up. Sometimes tractor drivers would treat us to bean soup, millet gruel, or hominy. Sometimes we would eat plums or apples as we proceeded on our way. At that time there were no hotels anywhere -- we would spend the night in the homes of rayon committee secretaries, kolkhoz chairmen, or even in the car if we had a busy schedule. We would work until we dropped, as they say: it was a rare occurrence that the lights would go out before midnight at the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers. And it would often happen that when at home in bed, you would spend half the night tossing and turning -- thoughts about one thing or another would keep popping into your head.

Perhaps some people would say, viewing all this from the vantage point of today's science of management: lack of organization. To this one can reply: in those times of establishment of the republic, everybody who considered himself a Communist took upon himself more work than "prescribed." I sometimes would be amazed, looking at my comrades: real workhorses, made of special material. Incidentally, I drove myself hard in this regard also.

I had a great many selfless individuals around me. Among these people the combat veterans were distinguished by great industry and a powerful work drive. I was particularly drawn toward them. They were easy to approach. You ask a person where he had served, reminisce with him about familiar places, the grief and joys of those times -- and you have already established a good working relationship. I remember well a great many persons from those times.

M. M. Lesovaya was serving as secretary of the Tiraspol'skiy Rayon party committee at that time. When the war broke out she was 17 years old, working as a nurse in a rural hospital. She immediately requested duty at the front. At Sevastopol she evacuated 21 wounded soldiers from under fire, loaded them in a truck, and headed for the rear area. Along the way they ran into fascists. the driver was mortally wounded. Lesovaya hugged the ground on the side of the road and, armed with a submachinegun, fought the enemy off. Then, wounded, she drove the vehicle to the medical battalion. For this she was awarded the Order of the Red Banner. For the fighting at Stalingrad (she was now in charge of a medical platoon) she was awarded the Order of the Red Star, and subsequently the Order of the Patriotic War. She fought all the way to Berlin! She left the following inscription on the Reichstag: "9 May. M. Lesovaya." She was doing an equally aggressive job in the rayon committee.

I also remember a dynasty of farm machine operators, the Kiriyakovs, in the ancient Moldavian village of Tokmazeya. This famed family -- seven brothers and two sisters -- joined a kolkhoz back in the 1920's. The eldest brother, Artem, became a tractor driver brigade leader (back in 1933). Another brother, Ivan, worked in Artem's brigade, and a third brother was a tractor driver in the neighboring village. The war broke out, and all seven brothers went to the front. Danilo was killed at Vitebsk, and Maksim died not far from their home village beyond the Dnestr. Lev died from wounds. The rest returned from the war -- and resumed driving their tractors. Today their sons are also farm machine operators, working on the Rodina Kolkhoz.

I remember Anastasiya Mazharova, who was famous at the time throughout the entire republic. She would sign rayon committee documents as follows: "Rayon Committee Secretary, Guards Major Mazharova." She had also had a heroic life. She was born in a Smolensk village. Her father was a miner; she herself had worked as a laborer from childhood, went through the war, serving as a scout and a political section chief. Under me she served as first secretary of the Tarakliyskiy Rayon committee, and later was sent to Moscow to study at the Higher Party School. But our collaboration did not end at that point. When I was serving as secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee and farming of the virgin lands had begun, I received a call at my office: "Leonid Il'ich, this is Mazharova, do you remember me? I have graduated, and I hear big things are starting out there where you are. How can I, 'Guards Major Mazharova,' get along without an offensive to fight.... Would you take me into your regiment?"

Of course I could! She soon arrived in Kazakhstan and went through the entire virgin-land offensive "in full gear."

There were also many combat veterans working on the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee administrative staff. You take a look at the people entering the doors of our party headquarters on Kiyevskaya in the morning, and your heart saddens -- some are limping, others are on crutches, and still others have a pinned-up, empty sleeve. But they all wear combat decorations and medals -- marks of their combat deeds. I cannot help but recall Kirill Fedorovich Il'yashenko, a modest, shy individual. A shell fragment had left a deep scar on his face. Before the war he had been a schoolteacher, and upon discharge from

the military he took charge of a difficult sector in the Moldavian Central Committee -- he headed the department of science, schools, and culture. He possessed the special ability to attract people of what seemed to be the most diversified personality and profession -- actors, writers, artists, musicians, and scientists; they came to the Central Committee to seek his advice and help. In recent years Kirill Fedorovich served as chairman of the Presidium of the Republic Supreme Soviet....

My comparatively brief but work-crammed period of assignment in Moldavia also became for me the most qualitatively new stage in my development as a party official. Here I thoroughly and deeply perceived and, as one of our rayon committee secretaries put it, perceived "with all my sensory organs" the essence of the term /leadership role of the party/ [double-spaced words]. Its guiding will, inexhaustible energy, collective wisdom, growing experience and, finally, absolute faith in the righteousness of our cause -- all that which was to be found to one degree or another in each and every one of us, the party's warriors -- literally permeated all the pores of the young organism of the republic, which was coming into life and taking form and shape. The Moldavian Communist Party, one of the detachments of the great Leninist Party, was maturing and acquiring insightful wisdom together with the establishment of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic. And what enormous responsibility to the party rests on each of us when it assigns us such an important job.

Vladimir Il'ich Lenin prized in a person above all else straightforwardness, ideological conviction, unity of word and deed, and integrity of character. We all know how he had the ability to listen to people, to take counsel with them, to rely on their experience, and to consider their opinions.

At that time we often would return to the countenance of the party leader, comparing ourselves with the greatest severity with the party's Leninist ethical standards. I shall cite an excerpt from the stenographic record of my speech at the April 1951 Moldavian CP(b) Central Committee Plenum: "We must have an even firmer attitude toward the common cause, and not breed mildew, rot, and mire.... Of course not everything can run smoothly; problems cannot be avoided, but we should endeavor not to make mistakes. This requires working with the maximum exertion of the energy and abilities each of us possesses.... Proceeding from the demands of the congress, we must increase the responsibility of officials at all levels, particularly party and soviet leader personnel. This does not mean that we should 'beat up' people. We shall continue in the future implementing a policy of preserving cadres, education of cadres, and a solicitous attitude toward cadres...."

Over the course of many years a fruitful work style has been developed in the party committees, based not on haste, not on jumping the gun, not on rash, hasty conclusions, but on a detailed, thorough analysis of the problems which arise. A scientific approach to party work is a purely businesslike approach. It requires that one work without losing time, comparing one's steps with the advance of societal development, with the content and spirit of collective decisions. My entire experience also attests to the fact that party activists have the ability to see the entire diversity of potential of the socialist society and always seek to find an optimal solution variant for a given problem.

Working in Moldavia, we focused all party organizations on formulating scientifically substantiated decisions and on well-reasoned demonstration of their political expediency and economic necessity.

This is the highroad of all our party work today as well.

6.

The vigorous measures taken by the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and the persistent, consistent, purposeful work, and the passage of time itself finally were producing results. More and more frequently we encountered facts indicating substantial changes in people's ideology. I remember that at one conference I inquired how the peasants were responding to expulsion from a kolkhos. I received the following reply: "The majority of expelled members request re-instatement." This was a very meaningful statement.

Strange as it may seem, in Moldavia I learned that even such a crop as corn, which had long been grown in the region, was being grown with obsolete methods and producing very poor yields. At one time this crop was being vigorously promoted in this country, with attempts to grow it at Arkhangelsk, Vologda, practically in the Arctic -- of course these attempts came to naught. But the corn was not to blame for this. I had learned the value of this crop in the Ukraine, and later in Moldavia I was convinced that it could produce even higher yields.

Our Moldavian comrades remember to this very day that corn was one of my hobbyhorses. Some even made a joke of it: you see, the first secretary is hauling around the rayons in the trunk of his car a corn planter of his own design. The fact is that at one time I indeed did carry around such a simple device. But of course not of my own design -- here I must give credit to another.

The situation was as follows. At that time there did not exist any equipment for this purpose, let alone factory-built, at least in that republic. Such equipment began to be manufactured in a centralized manner much later. But at the time it was necessary to use improvised means. In Sorokskiy Rayon there was this old peasant woman who, having heard about our concerns, presented me with this corn planter. "Take it," she said. "When I got married my father gave it as part of my dowry. Maybe it still can be of use...."

I hastened to put this clever peasant device to a practical test on one of the farms, verified its utility, and instructed that experimental models be built. While they were preparing the drawings and instructions, I myself publicized this ingenious homemade device which makes the corn farmer's job easier. The word about it had already reached the rayons -- local people were requesting "technical documentation," so that they could build their own corn planters. It was at that time that I demonstrated the old peasant woman's gift to those present for a conference at our Central Committee. After that the corn planter toured the rayons. And would you believe it, it helped us back in the spring of 1951 not only successfully accomplish the planting but also helped us obtain an appreciable increase in the harvest.

Many things were being tested in Moldavia for the first time in those days. Everything which took hold, which proved beneficial, we extensively incorporated into the economy. We know, however, that new things very frequently must fight their way through obstacles engendered by habit, and sometimes by inertia as well. Pioneers were needed for the adoption of each new innovation, people who believe in it and are willing to take a chance. I always kept an eye out for such enthusiasts, and I always relied on them. These were ordinary peasants, persons of sharp mind, talented individuals, who became skilled kolkhoz managers. I remember them all well, and I hope they have not forgotten me either.

D. S. Vasilati, T. M. Yermuraki, Z. I. Kroytor, D. I. Mishchenko, A. I. Papurov, D. Ye. Rashkulov, and S. G. Shvets -- all of these were my comrades in many useful undertakings. I liked to visit their farms. And although I visited lagging farms with greater frequency, sometimes I would even go out of my way to drop in to these people's farms -- to find out what was new, to take counsel, and to verify my observations with their opinions.

Sometimes I did not travel alone, but would take along rayon committee secretaries from other rayons. I would get into the car, have several others come with me, and take them to a leading kolkhoz. There we would discuss on the spot what had been accomplished to the positive, and where we were deficient. Thus we all learned collectively.

One of the finest places, which I visited quite frequently, was the Vyatsa Noue Kolkhoz -- the New Life Kolkhoz. It is located fairly near Kishinev, in Orgeyevskiy Rayon. Its journey to a new life is at the same time the story of the Moldavian village as a whole during the years of Soviet rule.

After the war 200 peasants in the village of Chokylteny communalized seven pairs of horses, 12 pairs of bullocks, and several plows and harrows. With this they commenced their new life. An ordinary barn was their first communal building. But they built it together, for the kolkhoz. At that time they were hauling people from the entire rayon to rallies -- see, they would say, what we can accomplish together.

Two years later the kolkhoz formed an alliance with scientists at the Moldavian affiliate of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the nucleus of today's republic Academy of Sciences. On the advice of the scientists, they began growing valuable feed grasses which were new to Moldavia -- the kolkhoz became at the same time an experimental station. The Chokylteny people were the first to try out new methods of labor remuneration and were among the pioneers of interkolkhoz co-production in this republic. And the people here advanced rapidly. Former farmhand Shtefan Shtirbu became a Hero of Socialist Labor. In short, the farm has plenty worth looking at and plenty worth borrowing.

I must admit that another tie I had with the Chokylteny people was a long-standing passion for hunting. At that time the floodplain of the Reut contained vast reed-covered areas teeming with wildfowl. I found hunting friends there -- kolkhoz members Petru Lungu and Petru Gelesku. I also usually stayed at Petru Gelesku's home. His house stood practically right on the reed-covered floodplain. The guest would sleep on a bench in the kasa mare -- the honored

guest room. By daybreak the next morning we would already be in the boat with our shotguns.

Reed-covered floodplains are of course a paradise for hunters. But they also represent thousands of hectares of highly fertile land! I began advising them to farm it: "The reeds will not be there forever; it will also grow grain and whatever else you want." I kept hammering home the same point, and the kolkhoz members heeded my advice. They proceeded to dig by hand the first drainage ditch. In places the reeds formed impenetrable thickets. At these locations they would first drive a herd of livestock forward, with people bringing up the rear. Soon they began preparing reed silage. A couple of years later the state, with the participation of kolkhozes, proceeded to develop the floodplain of the Reut. As a result, this floodplain generates annual production worth half a million rubles -- more than 15 percent of the entire production of the kolkhoz.

Everything achieved by this farm, which became a laboratory of advanced know-how in this republic, is to the credit of the local kolkhoz members, who are industrious, clever, and responsive to everything new. Considerable credit must also go to kolkhoz board chairman Boris Vladimirovich Glushko, who skillfully, I would say giftedly, directed the collective farm operation for many years -- from the day it was established until he retired.

He himself was born here in Chokylteny, to the family of a schoolteacher. This chairman was enterprising, intelligent, and bold.

Today everybody clearly sees that the socialist economy's future lies in an organic synthesis of crop farming and animal husbandry with industry, in creating an integrated economy as a whole. And who knows, perhaps the drained floodplains of the Reut or the famed "integrated orchard" in Nisporenskiy Rayon are to be considered the first steps on the present road of interkolkhoz co-production. This process has now become ubiquitous. Only on this basis can we achieve higher labor productivity in agriculture, whereby a small but technically and agronomically knowledgeable portion of this country's population, provided with first-class equipment, will fully satisfy the requirements of the people and carry out the party's food program in a practical manner. And of course it is not mere happenstance that today's Moldavia has become a unique proving ground in this process for the entire country. During the years I served in this republic, the country's first interkolkhoz agricultural mechanization, electrification and land reclamation association was established, in Chadyr-Lungskiy Rayon. Today Moldavia contains seven scientific-production associations, 24 agrarian-industrial associations, and 170 sovkhoz-factories. This represents a great industrial-agricultural potential and, I would say, constitutes a graphic example of well-conceived economic management.

7.

The scale of construction in this country is so great and new, comprehensive programs are so grandiose that it takes many years from concept to execution. As a matter of fact, only now can we properly assess the decisions we made in Moldavia at the beginning of the 1950's, and yet the republic's entire future was dependent on them. In my opinion a basic problem arises here.

Soviet citizens should have the assurance that the good deeds done by them, useful to party and people, will not be buried in oblivion 10 years or 100 years hence. We are speaking here about the moral countenance of a generation.

I see in the example of today's Moldavia that on the whole we did not err in choice of the basic direction of its development. Of course the economy of this republic, just as that of the entire country, was developing on the basis of a national economic plan, which had the force of law for us. But you can't consider every last factor in a plan; practical realities advance their own demands, and they had to be taken into consideration. Rapidly growing agricultural production made it essential to boost all other branches and sectors of the economy. Their development was also planned for us. It seems that at that time everything had been provided for, except for the republic's actual capabilities, created by the radical socioeconomic reforms at the beginning of the 1950's.

I shall relate as an illustration how Kirill Ivanovich Tsurkan, then minister of the food processing industry, and I saved the grape harvest. That year the grape harvest was an outstanding one. Tsurkan came to me: "What are we to do, Leonid Il'ich? We have an emergency! Throughout Moldavia we only have half the tankage capacity available as we need for this harvest -- there is nowhere to pour the must."

Quite frankly, I did not sleep at all that night, but kept trying to figure out what to do. The only solution I could think of was to send our minister to Moscow to request tank cars. They allocated us 200, but they had to be hauled in, and time was not standing still. A day or two later a worried Tsurkan called me: "Leonid Il'ich, I have come up with this crazy idea: how about adapting the city's old water tower?"

Well you know, we got hold of the keys and climbed up the rickety spiraling stairs right up to the top of the tower. Yes, it could hold quite a bit. Unfortunately, however, the tank was quite rusty, and we had to abandon the idea. What was the solution? I asked Tsurkan to assemble experts, old and experienced vintners. Let them share their know-how, kick ideas around, and determine local possibilities.

The party official need not be at the same time an economist, agronomist, engineer, engineer, architect, vintner, etc. But he should possess a mastery of the laws of societal development, understand people, understand them well, and rely on the specific knowledge of experts in a given field.

I recall an incident from the life of V. I. Lenin. In a very difficult year for our country he was conducting a meeting of the Council of People's Commissars, at which they were seeking to resolve an issue of some debate which was quite important at that time. A spokesman for the Main Administration of the Peat Industry, which was supposed to be getting peat operations into production, presented a calculation according to which 4,000 rubles each were supposed to be allocated for building temporary wooden barracks for workers. A spokesman for the People's Commissariat of Finance raised an objection, claiming that 4,000 was too much, that not more than 2,000 should be allocated. A hot debate ensued. Lenin listened without interrupting, but then sent a note

to each of them: "Have you ever built barracks?" The peat expert replied in the affirmative, and the finance expert in the negative. Vladimir Il'ich then put the question to a vote. "There are two proposals," he stated. "The author of the first, who has experience in building barracks, feels that it is necessary to allocate 4,000 rubles per barracks building, while the author of the second resolution, who does not possess such experience, proposes allocating 2,000 rubles...."

They say that laughter erupted at this point, and the issue was settled at the Council of People's Commissars in favor of the specialist, the expert. In my opinion this is an instructive story and should be remembered.... We gathered together vintners in Kishinev, and debates also occurred, but in the final analysis the commission proposed the following plan of action. In the drought-prone areas of Moldavia the peasants have a cement-lined cistern in their yard for collecting rainwater. We concluded that if these cisterns were properly treated, they would do. For the future it was of course necessary to build large new tanks, but in the meantime these could help save the day. Authorized agents of our food processing industry immediately toured the rayons to locate cisterns and to enter into contracts with kolkhoz farmers to store state-owned must. An effort was made to secure every possible container, and we succeeded in fully placing and storing the valuable product.

The realities of life dictated the necessity of placing primary stress in Moldavia's industrialization on the food processing branches of industry. We realized that this would make it possible to accomplish a twofold task: to build a local base for processing a steadily growing quantity of agricultural production and at the same time to solve the problem of employment for the population and to strengthen the ranks of the republic's worker class. By that time the completion of collectivization and the extensive employment of machinery had freed a good deal of manpower in the village. And it was quite clear that comprehensive and harmonious development of a new, socialist Moldavian nation, its economy and culture was inconceivable without a powerful worker class.

Successful fulfillment of the 4th Five-Year Plan enabled us to submit a number of additional proposals to the ACP(b) Central Committee and the union government, including a proposal on development of industry. By February 1952 our experts had formulated an extended combined program for accelerated development of the food processing industry in Moldavia, and food-processing machine building in the future. This was a most important issue, with a great deal depending on it, and therefore I carried the document to Moscow myself. As a result our proposals were given support by the USSR Council of Ministers.

At the same time as the food processing industry, the foundations were laid down for other branches of the republic's industry. Here we adopted a course of policy aimed at establishing labor-intensive and at the same time promising industries, such as machine building, electrical equipment, and instrument engineering -- industries which could absorb surplus rural labor. The majority of enterprises were established based on former workshops.

I frequently visited the Tiraspol Plant imeni Kirov, which became a pioneer of Moldavian industry. I established very good, meaningful relations with the

general manager, Ivan Semenovitch Shkorupeyev. And when we needed an experienced, strong individual for the position of republic minister of local industry, I nominated him. He filled the bill in every respect: he had been at the plant (workshops in the early years) since 1931, had worked his way up to chief engineer, and subsequently became general manager. He knew his job and did it well. But Shkorupeyev was adamant: absolutely not! He had grown accustomed to the place and had no desire to make a change.

Once I summoned him to Kishinev.

"You have just arrived from the rayon," I said to him. "You are tired, let's have some tea."

But I was thinking to myself: what kind of an approach should I use? I proceeded to talk about my career -- to the various places fate had taken me. I did not steer the conversation to the new appointment -- I figured he would get the hint. As we were parting, I said: "I am going to visit your plant. I want to see why it is you want so badly to stay there. I shall discuss the job with the bureau members."

He said nothing, but I could see from his eyes that he was beginning to get the point -- he would have to agree to the new appointment.

At the plant they of course had prepared to receive their guest. They wanted to take me on the "tour," to inspect the property, to take a look at possibilities for expansion.

"Let's begin with the shops," I told him. "It is obvious anyway that there is not enough room on the property for expansion."

On the whole I was pleased with the plant, just as on my previous visits. It produced useful products of pretty fair quality: motors, irrigation pumps, grinders, and forging hammers. But I saw all this only as a nucleus -- modern production could be and must be set up here. I expressed my opinion to the rayon and plant officials: "Adequate thought must be given to renovation and expansion. The present site is unsatisfactory: in a couple of years you will begin to feel crowded again, and in addition a rail spur cannot be run to this site. If we do anything, let's do it right, with an eye to the future. Your products are extremely needed by the village right now, but it is high time to overcome the primitive workshop psychology. The plant must be reorganized in a modern manner, and an earnest effort must be made to develop cadres. It is important that local metal industry workers be employed, not workers brought in from elsewhere."

That is the way things worked out in time. A site was selected, and virtually a new plant was built. When I made my first visit there, it was employing 450 persons, while now 4,500 skilled workers and specialists are employed at the plant. And we finally succeeded in convincing Shkorupeyev. He became a minister.

The Kishinev Plant imeni Kotovskiy, the Beltsy Motor Overhaul Plant, a metal-working plant in Yedintsy, a machinery plant in Chadyr-Lunga, a pump plant in

Rybnitsa, and many others were transformed into modern enterprises before our very eyes, within just two or three years.

All this helped boost the republic's economy within a few short years, raising its industry to the level of the other industrially developed republics. Moldavia's comparatively young worker class now was capable of turning out the most modern products.

8.

The beginning of the 1950's was for Moldavia not only a period of economic drawing apace with the country's other republics, but also a time of rapid development of the socialist Moldavian nation and its new self-awareness, grounded on the principles of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism. All this did not take place smoothly, and at times involved sharp ideological debate -- remnants of bourgeois-nationalist ideology were making their presence known. Members of crushed nationalist organizations, attempting to trade on the interests of the Moldavian people, at times waged open warfare against socialist ideology and to alienate Moldavian culture from the culture of all the other brother peoples of our country.

The ideological work being done by the republic party organization was of enormous importance for the formation of a new Moldavia. It was necessary here to display the ability to persuade people, to find correct organizational forms and, most important, to be a convinced fighter oneself, sensitive to one's comrades and a self-demanding worker. I should like to note in this connection that all these party qualities were possessed by Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, head of the department of agitation and propaganda of the Moldavian CP(b) Central Committee. A young and energetic Communist who had acquired a great deal of party experience prior to his job assignment in this republic, he gave all his energy and ability to the assigned task.

Subsequently K. U. Chernenko held a number of high party and soviet positions, and he invariably displayed this talent and experience. Today K. U. Chernenko is a member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Ideological work has been and continues to be the most complex part of building socialism. Here one is dealing directly with people's personality and character, including a creative personality, at times easily injured and contradictory. It is important on the one hand to help gifted people find their place in service to their people, to prevent them from expending that which is called a divine gift on fruitless fuss and bustle, to display understanding, sensitivity, patience, while on the other hand yielding not an inch in party principles. During those years I had to go through a school not simply of ideological work but also of ideological confrontation.

We applied enormous efforts to achieve development of public education, national culture, and indoctrination of the citizen of a socialist world. We had to start literally with the elimination of illiteracy -- to teach Moldavians how to read and write in Moldavian (this applied chiefly to the population of

right-bank Moldavia). In the first five postwar years approximately 1 million adults in this republic learned to read and write. A total of 1,472 schools were rebuilt and constructed anew within a short period of time. It was necessary to improve cultural-enlightenment work, to arrange for publishing textbooks in the Moldavian language, and to train teacher cadres. When I learned that Moldavians now comprised more than half of all teachers, I viewed this as a major success in the party's nationalities policy.

I have before me a transcript of the minutes of one of the meetings of the Moldavian CP(b) Central Committee Bureau. Here are some of the agenda items which were being discussed at that time, at the very end of 1950: "Publication of the writings of the founders of Marxism in the Moldavian language; improvement of book trade in this republic; publication of children's literature; deficiencies in the performance of the republic Soyuzpechat' department; measures to improve availability of motion picture showings for the rural population; the status of radio use in the republic; implementation of the provisions of the law on universal primary education; publication of school textbooks in 1951; improvement of teaching and indoctrination work at Kishinev State University...."

Here are a few figures from documents of that time, which I also received from the archives. We were pleased when a special order provided an allocation of 35,000 textbooks for Moldavia's schools, and when we were informed that seven professors and docents were coming from Moscow to teach at our higher educational institutions. At that same time, at the end of 1950, 25,000 crystal radio receivers were sent to the republic, as well as 30,000 meters of tape with radio recordings, 45 film projectors, and 15 printing presses. Today this seems a drop in the bucket, but at the time it was very important, and all this indicates the tasks we were performing at that time, for today Moldavia is an important center of science and culture. It has produced gifted intellectuals, eminent scientists, writers, and actors.

Today we acknowledge with great pride that a Soviet socialist culture, unified in spirit and content, has been established and has flourished in our multinational country. This culture includes the most valuable features and traditions of the culture and mode of life of each of the peoples of our homeland. At the same time each of the Soviet national cultures is nurtured not only from its own sources but also draws from the spiritual wealth of the other brother peoples, and also exerts beneficial influence on them and enriches them. Common internationalist features are becoming increasingly more noticeable. The national is becoming increasingly more enriched by the achievements of the other brother peoples. This process is in conformity with the spirit of socialism and the interests of all the peoples of our country. The foundations of a new, Communist culture are being laid down precisely in this manner, a culture which knows no ethnic barriers and which serves all working people in equal measures. The Moldavian party organization set for itself precisely such an objective and was proceeding toward it confidently, sparing no effort.

9.

I shall now relate something about Kishinev, a city in which I lived and for which I have a great deal of affection. Late in the evening on 4 March 1977

I received a call at home: "Leonid Il'ich, there has been an earthquake in Moldavia.... On the Richter scale about...."

"What is the situation in Kishinev?" I interrupted.

"According to preliminary figures, minimal damage. There has been damage to some old buildings, but no lives lost."

I felt relieved, and I could proceed calmly inquiring into the situation.

Muscovites, just as the residents of other cities, probably remember that anxious evening when echoes of an ominous natural phenomenon reached their homes. A few minutes before the phone call, I remember, my family and I felt that something very wrong was happening with the house -- the chandelier was swinging and the dishes in the cupboard were rattling.

As we later learned, this was one of the most powerful earthquakes of our century. The hardest hit were Romania and Bulgaria, where there occurred considerable destruction and loss of life. On the following day we sent telegrams to the Central Committees of the brother parties and governments of these countries, on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers, expressing our condolences in connection with the natural disaster which had struck them, and we gave assistance which was needed in such cases.

Quite frankly, when I heard about the earthquake in the capital and other towns and villages of Moldavia, at first I was really worried. There flashed through my mind pictures of sun-drenched avenues lined by southern-style lightly-constructed highrise buildings glinting in the sunlight. The Tashkent disaster was still fresh in our memory. And now came bad news from Kishinev, which had become like my hometown, like any town where you were not born but with which you are bound with no less solid ties of labor activity.

I also had another, purely personal reason to shudder inwardly at the thought of what calamities an earthquake could bring down on the city and its residents. The fact is that high-rise construction in the republic's capital, which today is perceived by everybody as natural and the only possible solution for such a large, modern city, was begun at my initiative, and, I must admit, at first it was greeted by many with something much less than enthusiasm.

The year I moved to Kishinev, the city had not yet recovered from the war -- people were sheltered in what passed for human habitations, and practically no new buildings were being constructed. The only transportation consisted of two streetcar lines intersecting the city. The situation was particularly bad as regarded electricity and water supply. But the municipal and republic authorities were being somewhat slow about handling these primary needs. It was necessary to take "volitional" measures. I suggested that the following be entered in one of the bureau documents: that water and electricity to the apartments of the following list of individuals be cut off effective such and such a date. This was followed by a fairly long list of city and republic officials. The list also included my apartment on Sadovaya Street. It worked! Within days the city had uninterrupted electrical and water service -- the people of Kishinev breathed a sigh of relief.

I realized, however, that this was only a temporary solution to a difficult situation. The Moldavian capital needed a sound master development plan. Of course such a plan existed. And it had been devised by none other than Academician A. V. Shchusev, a native of Kishinev. This eminent architect had done a beautiful job of thinking everything through and had made provision for everything at the time, but times were changing, and changing very rapidly.

I summoned Timofey Ivanovich Troyan, then deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers: we proceeded to reexamine this master plan. It seems that the plan specified new buildings of only two or three stories to be constructed in the city. The reason for this was the fact that the city was situated in an earthquake zone. And the decision was a reasonable one: the last heavy earthquake in Moldavia had occurred as recently as 1940. Kishinev had suffered heavy damage at the time. I nevertheless asked: "Timofey Ivanovich, are you in agreement with this solution?"

"No, I am not! We are presently planning for a city with a population of 500,000. How much land will this require if we do not build higher than three stories?"

"My thoughts exactly: unprofitable and outdated. In addition, one must assume that construction technology has not been standing still all these years."

We assembled the experts -- scientists, engineers, architects, and seismologists. They reasoned and discussed things at length, weighed all doubts, and heard out all objections. As they say, they measured 7 times before cutting. And the decision was to build a high-rise city. At the time they were talking only about five-story buildings, not about the skyscrapers which adorn today's Kishinev. But at the time even five stories was a big event. I remember how carefully we studied in the Central Committee the first plans for such a building. We kept asking the seismologists: has every factor been considered? So the first five-story building in the entire history of the Moldavian capital was erected on Lenin Street. The townspeople came to gawk at it as if it were one of the seven wonders of the world. At approximately the same time we opened the home-museum of Academician Shchusev, who had once said: "One's dwelling comprises 30 percent of human happiness."

Mass construction in the city began to all intents and purposes with the first high-rise building. But it was necessary to solve another problem -- what to build with? The construction industry was still weak in Moldavia at that time. A careful examination showed, however, that we were unable to utilize efficiently even that which we possessed -- our capabilities, local materials, the energy and talents of our people. I shall note, incidentally, that this chronic affliction still hinders us today, and the larger the scale of the economy, the more painful its effects.

Troyan and I once went out to take a look at how construction stone was being quarried. At the time this was essentially our entire construction potential -- the old Krikovo rock quarries, where so-called rubble and coquina were obtained. Labor productivity was low at these quarries, and the work was hard: handsaws, kerosene lamps, and primitive pry bars. But a solution was found.

It seems that a local railway engineer by the name of K. P. Galanin had invented a stone-cutting machine, which for some reason had not been given the go-ahead for further development in Moldavia. I had to take it under my wing; I met with Konstantin Petrovich on numerous occasions, and the two of us went out to test his machine at those same quarries. And soon the machine was being commercially manufactured. (I should note that today Galanin's machine is being used throughout the Soviet Union; it is in great demand, and in Armenia an entire plant is engaged in its manufacture). This machine helped us -- thanks to a gifted man! -- literally to raise Kishinev at that time to a new height of construction.

The difficulties did not diminish; there was an acute shortage of specialists, construction equipment, cranes, and machinery. But the framework of attitudes had changed, and a great deal was being done in a different manner. There appeared other interesting proposals, draft plans, ideas, and we found other bold, innovative people, who had the ability to look to the future, and of course they had to be given support, organizational-political work was needed, and it was necessary to combat indifference and inertia....

I can state without exaggeration that today we have a gigantic army of skilled builders, architects, and designers. We have also built a construction industry which is the envy of the rest of the world. We possess every prerequisite for each one of our cities to rise up more beautiful than the other. We also have plenty of which to be proud in our cities, towns and rural areas; we have built excellent microrayons in the capitals of our republics, and many outstanding buildings have gone up in Leningrad and Moscow. Nevertheless one is sometimes disappointed by the still widespread lack of individuality -- standard-appearance rayons in many cities throughout the country.

It seems to me that now that the first housing hunger has been satisfied, when tens of millions of families in this country have moved into new quarters, builders should no longer think merely in terms of quantity of square meters of housing, forgetting about the quality of apartment units and the exterior appearance of our streets and squares. Sometimes the following question is asked: can we achieve expressiveness and beauty with construction on a mass scale? The answer is nothing new: not only can we, but we must! We have in this country examples of fine, modern construction in Vilnius, Alma-Ata, Yerevan, in the new Tashkent, in Zelenograd near Moscow, and in Kishinev -- in short everywhere, wherever architects have built that which they have conceived, not that which goes up spontaneously, without thought. Returning to Kishinev, I shall state that the experience of its construction development is instructive in many ways. The city is both attractive and, as the earthquake demonstrated, solidly built.

In this country we have the fine traditions of Russian architecture and the national architecture of our country's other peoples. I must state that at the present time they are not being adequately utilized. Builders also forget the fine rule of our country's master builders -- build to last centuries! This problem is a matter of concern to me, and I feel that it is high time to resolve it together and in the most solid fashion.

* * *

Recalling today the years I worked in Moldavia, the same as in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast, in Zaporozhye, and in the Urals, I feel a sense of satisfaction. Yes, I want to repeat that we were doing a job, striding during all these years along unexplored paths, blazing a trail across virgin soil both in the literal and figurative meaning of the term. Such was also the case in Moldavia. I did not work there a very long time. The 19th Party Congress was held in the fall of 1952, and I traveled to Moscow together with a delegation from the Moldavian Communist Party. The congress elected me member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Central Committee secretary. I returned to Kishinev to say good-bye to my comrades. I walked through all the rooms of our party building on Kiyevskaya, and I called up my Moldavian friends on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. I had a great number of them. Many came to see me off at the station.

As it happened, I arrived in Moldavia in the spring and left in the fall. And I am always filled with a great warmth at the thought that everything which was planted during those years sprouted, blossomed, and we are now gathering in the harvest. The efforts of Communists and the republic's entire population produced excellent fruits. Soviet Moldavia is living a full and happy life in the union of brother republics of our multinational homeland. It has achieved enormous economic and cultural successes, of which the Moldavian people are rightfully proud today, as are all the brother peoples of the Soviet Union.

All this is a result of the party's Leninist nationalities policy, of the socialist system of economic management, and of the fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance on the part of all our country's republics.

I turn to past days -- and there stands arrayed before me a time of heroic labor, of profound transformation and outstanding accomplishments throughout the entire socialist homeland of our peoples. And one of the most striking, determining accomplishments is the international brotherhood of Soviet people. This is a truly historic victory of socialism. Internationalism has become a deep conviction and a standard of conduct for millions upon millions of Soviet citizens. It is a genuinely revolutionary upheaval in the public consciousness, the significance of which can scarcely be exaggerated.

The Communist Party, consistently expressing the interests of the worker class and the working people of all nationalities, succeeded in uniting all nationalities and ethnic groups. The great V. I. Lenin made our Communist Party such a party, it is such today, and it will remain such in the future.

COSMIC OCTOBER

1.

The new, postwar generation of Soviet citizens began life in the space age. Sometimes it is difficult for young people even to imagine that a quarter of a

century ago there were no sputniks, no cosmonauts, and no flights to the Moon, Mars, or Venus. There were only dreams about such flights, dreams which mankind had carried through the centuries. The poet was right: "We are born to make fairy tale reality...." It was our people which ushered in the space age.

Billions of people throughout the world first touched the secrets of the cosmos on that day and at that hour when they learned about the launching of the first artificial Earth satellite. This was a stunning surprise for the majority of people on all continents and in all countries. But our scientists, design engineers, workers, erectors, and construction people had prepared with their own hands for this bold leap into the unknown.

On 4 October 1957, when the first satellite was launched into orbit, a new era began in the history of terrestrial civilization. This event took place only 4 decades after the victory of the Great October Revolution. This is a short historical period of time. But in the life of our people this period contained enormous political, economic, technical, and cultural transformations. It is for this very reason that the Soviet Union became the pioneer in the conquest of space.

I say this not in order once again to affirm our priority status, although this too is important. But it is even more important to say something else: cosmic October once again showed the entire world the creative power of victorious socialism, the strength of the genuinely free labor of millions, and the creative genius of a great people, led by the Communist Party.

This is what I would like to speak about in this chapter.

I recall a scene from A. M. Gor'kiy's novel "Zhizn' Klima Samgina" [The Life of Klim Samgin]. He describes a heated debate about the future, a debate which took place before the revolution, on the eve of October. One of the heroes of the novel -- a worker and a Leninist-Bolshevik -- makes the following prophetic statement in the course of the debate: "We shall settle these cosmic issues after we solve social problems. And they will be resolved not by individuals frightened by the awareness of their solitude, their defenselessness, but millions of intellects free from the concerns of obtaining a piece of bread -- that is how it will be!"

That is exactly how things worked out in actuality. That people which was the first in history to part the chains of social oppression was also the first to throw off the fetters of terrestrial gravitation. This is a fact, an achievement which we shall be able to claim forever, so that even our future descendants will be rightly proud.

We entered the age of astronautics not as observers but as trailblazers. In the West they were unable at that time to come up with any other explanation except that the success of the USSR was pure chance. In actual fact a country which only 40 years prior to that had been backward, which had been forced to overcome physical destruction, hunger, economic blockade, and the most arduous wars -- this country not only was able on its own to climb to the summit of scientific and technological advance but also showed other peoples the way. It was the first to begin blazing a trail to the stars.

No, by no means can this be called mere chance. In 1979 we celebrated the 50th anniversary of the beginning of the first five-year plan. This is a glorious date. Our entire people and the entire party celebrated it extensively. Behind us lie not simply years, but years compressed into five-year periods, filled with heroic, selfless labor. And if one recalls everything and thinks about the matter a bit more deeply, the breakthrough into space was a logical continuation of the exploits of the five-year plans, national industrialization, the achievements of our economy, the successes of our science, and a rise in the level of education, awareness, and cultural level of the worker class and all working people of the Soviet Union.

Our people like to dream and have the ability to dream, but we are not simply dreamers. A remarkable scientist by the name of Konstantin Eduardovich Tsiolkovskiy lived in the Kaluga area, on Russian soil; he predicted the era of conquest of space with amazing insight, and he even foresaw the configuration of multistage rockets and calculated orbital and escape velocities. The development of astronautics is proceeding according to a plan which he devised back at the beginning of our century.

Of course even in his boldest imaginings he was unable to guess that this new era in the experience of mankind would come so quickly. But following the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, K. E. Tsiolkovskiy stated: "Now, comrades, I am firmly convinced that my other dream -- interplanetary travel -- which has been theoretically substantiated by me, will become reality."

It is with full justification that we name Academician Sergey Pavlovich Korolev, a great scientist and design engineer of the 20th century, as the first among his disciples and followers. He once told me that he had always dreamed about space and that in his youth he had even traveled to Kaluga and had spoken with the founder of theory of space exploration. In his mature years Sergey Pavlovich joined this theory with practical applications and sent into space the first sputniks, automatic interplanetary stations, and spacecraft.

I was fortunate enough to know this person well and to get together with him often. Space matters entered my life long before that day when everybody learned about them. The fact is that the Central Committee had assigned to me, as CPSU Central Committee secretary, coordination of all matters pertaining to development of rockets and space hardware. I had to deal closely with concrete matters connected with implementation of our space program.

But at this point it would probably be best to start at the beginning.

2.

Today the entire world knows about Baykonur. But formerly this was a tiny settlement situated out in a remote semidesert area. Today nobody entertains any doubts about the fact that the first roads into space had to be built precisely from here, that a space center had to be built at this point on the planet, that this was the only way to go, and that this was the only correct decision. After the passage of time it always seems to us that there could not have been any other variant solutions.

In fact, however, I shall note that Baykonur's destiny was not an easy one. Back when we were working on the virgin lands, we were assigned the task of helping scientists choose a suitable location for building a space launch center. The matter was highly classified, with only a very few experts involved. In 1955 such a location was found -- in the southern part of Kazakhstan, not far from the Aral Sea. Could I have imagined at the time that in the near future I would be dealing with an entire aggregate of matters which today are embodied for us in the word Baykonur?

The most amazing coincidences occur in life, however. In those years the virgin-land region was simultaneously commencing two great, historic undertakings -- a mighty grain-growing program, and the famed space program. It is truly symbolic that they coincided not only in time but in space as well.

Nevertheless it was no easy or simple matter to settle this matter. I had scarcely taken over supervision of space-rocket affairs when I had to serve as arbiter in a heated debate. The fact is that sites for the future space launch center had also been selected in other parts of the country. They were being examined and appraised in a most thorough fashion, and at the beginning of the 1950's there were a great many debates on where to locate the space launch center -- near the Aral Sea in Kazakhstan, or in the Chernyye Zemli [Blacklands] of the Northern Caucasus? Each site had, as they say, its pluses and minuses.

The experts clearly realized that it would be faster, simpler, and cheaper to establish the facility on the Chernyye Zemli. There was a rail line, a highway, water, electricity, the entire area was settled, and the climate was also less severe than in Kazakhstan. As a result the Caucasus site had a great many supporters.

At that time it was necessary for me to study a great many documents, projected plans, reports, and to discuss all this with scientists, management specialists, engineers, and other experts, who in the future would be launching rockets into space. Gradually I formulated my own sound decision.

The party Central Committee came out in favor of the first site -- in Kazakhstan. We proceeded from the position that there were excellent croplands and fine grazing lands in the Northern Caucasus. It would be better to go to additional expense but utilize virtually dead land in the Aral area. While building one thing, it was necessary to ensure that it did not cause detriment to another. History has confirmed the advisability and correctness of our decision: the lands of the Northern Caucasus have been preserved for agriculture, while Baykonur has transformed another area of our country.

It was necessary to bring the rocket facility on-line quickly; the timetable was tight, and the scale of work involved was enormous. After one of his regular trips to Baykonur, Mitrofan Ivanovich Nedelin, commander in chief of Rocket Forces, came to see me.

"How are things with the construction equipment?" I asked Nedelin. (A month back the construction chief had complained that there was not enough heavy equipment, and I had asked the comrades at the Council of Ministers to help).

"Things are better now," replied Mitrofan Ivanovich. "There is plenty of equipment on the job. The dust over the steppe is so thick that it blocks out the sun during the day."

I would like to mention a problem which was of great concern to us at the time: it was necessary to accomplish a large volume of earth moving at Baykonur. Of course first on the schedule was construction of the launch pad complexes. A community of mobile field shelters and tents blossomed on the steppe. These facilities temporarily housed Baykonur's pioneer construction workers.

For some reason today more is published in the press about the design engineers and scientists who were working at the space launch center in those years. Less attention is given to the construction workers. But they also deserve considerable praise, for it was they who continued the exploits of the construction workers who built Magnitka, the Dneproges, Komsomolsk-na-Amure, and the Turkestan-Siberia Rail Line. Inventiveness, skill and determination were required in order to erect unprecedented structures in a short period of time. This construction caused considerable worry and concern, for everything was new, never having been built before. An enormous construction experiment was in progress.

For example, it was necessary to excavate and haul away more than a million cubic meters of dirt for one of the launch pad complexes. Work continued day and night. And then the unforeseen happened, when they were only about 10 meters from the planned depth of excavation: water started gushing from an exploratory borehole which was being drilled nearby. It seems that the excavation area was right next to a subterranean river and could be flooded at any moment.

The situation was reported to me. An immediate decision had to be made. There were several suggestions. Earth moving could be continued, with the aid of water-removal equipment. This solution, however, would delay construction of the complex by a year -- it would take that long for industry to produce well-points. It was suggested that the launch be resited. But this was also out of the question, since the rocket and the facilities had to be ready at the same time. Would the launch complex chief design engineer permit a reduction in the depth of the structure? He replied to the construction people: "In the future you will have a great many such tasks assigned; therefore do not try to push problems onto the equipment designers; they have enough of their own problems. I cannot agree to your suggestion, since I need a 100 percent guarantee of success. The depth of the structure cannot be less than the free-path length of the exhaust gas jet of an operating rocket engine. At the present time that is an absolute requirement. We have everything ready, and we are waiting for you to complete the launch complex."

I supported this individual. The chief design engineer and future academician was unquestionably right. A different solution had to be sought. Work at the site was temporarily suspended.

General G. M. Shubnikov was in charge of construction at Baykonur. His name is well known in our military. He built powerful defensive works on the various

fronts of the Great Patriotic War, built crossings across the Dnieper and Vistula under enemy fire, and after victory built the Treptow Park memorial complex in Berlin.

One of the work superintendents came to Georgiy Maksimovich Shubnikov with a most imaginative idea. He suggested using a powerful explosion to excavate the foundation pit.

Shubnikov was enthusiastic about the idea and briefed me on it.

"Why not utilize this last chance," he said. "I am in favor. If the blast forces the water back so that it does not return until a few weeks later, we shall be able to pour a concrete foundation slab, build pumping stations, put in drainage, and then no subterranean rivers will cause us any problems."

I replied: "Alright, go ahead, but do the calculations once more."

It was some time before Shubnikov informed me on what was taking place at the excavation site. His silence created a problem: people at all levels were interested in how construction was progressing. I must admit that I was concerned about the outcome of this bold construction scheme, but I tried not to show my nervousness. I did not even call Baykonur. I waited, and avoided putting pressure on Shubnikov and his people. I knew that in such a hazardous undertaking it was necessary to think through everything very carefully and provide for every eventuality.

In due course a mighty explosion reverberated at the construction site, shattering windowpanes at a settlement several kilometers away. "Finally Shubnikov has started to talk!" many people joked at the time. The job was accomplished, and what about the subterranean river which caused us so much trouble at the time? It is still flowing at the launch site, but it is no longer causing any problems. The job was accomplished. The calculations had proven out.

Construction of the Baykonur launch complex, from which the journey into space began, is connected with the name of Shubnikov, as well as many other comrades who had strode the flaming paths of the war and are proud of their profession of builder. Soon a launch pad facility had been built for the first Soviet intercontinental missile -- a unique structure which astonishes the imagination even today. At many of our country's enterprises -- in Moscow and Leningrad, Sverdlovsk and Kiev, Gorkiy and Krasnoyarsk (one can scarcely list all the outstanding plants at which structural members employed at the Baykonur space launch complex were born), thousands of workers, technicians, and engineers embodied the ideas of scientists in metal, as people sometimes say. By 1 May 1957 the construction people reported that the facilities were ready. Our first rockets had also been built at the same time.

The task assigned by the party and homeland was accomplished! But now, as Sergey Pavlovich Korolev liked to repeat, it was necessary "to teach the rocket to fly." It was a difficult time for everybody. I also made frequent visits to plants and design offices, meeting with dozens of people. The end result of this effort of course brought all of us enormous satisfaction. The first test

rocket launch demonstrated that our faith in the talent of the scientists and designers, in the skill of the workers and engineers, precise and thoroughly thought-out organization of labor, as well as coordination of the efforts of many agencies, organizations and plants had proven out.

Today that very same first rocket complex is sending sputniks and spacecraft into space. The Vostoks and Voskhods were launched there, and the Soyuz spacecraft continue to begin their missions at this facility.

The streets of Baykonur bear the names of the pioneers in astronautics, including distinguished construction engineer Geo.giy Maksimovich Shubnikov. I should also add that the streets of Baykonur represent a unique history of the people who built it.

While primarily men worked on the launch complexes, however, women bore the brunt of the burden of providing the town with amenities. I should like to make special mention of them.

The officers' wives at Baykonur declared all-out war on the sand and dust storms. They were building a town in a semidesert area. And although the area around the settlement was practically devoid of vegetation, flower beds and saplings suddenly began to appear among the mobile field shelters and temporary housing. They cared for these first young plants just as attentively as they cared for their children. And within a few years there appeared on barren ground parks and green plantings which today amaze visitors to Baykonur.

I have visited the space launch center at various times of year. The spring and fall are the best seasons here. In October famed melons ripen in a melon patch not far from the launch sites; as the local people say jokingly, they are filled with "space juice" -- they are unusually tasty. The people of Baykonur can be justly proud of them.

There is a museum at Baykonur. Unfortunately we do not always give thought to precisely what exhibits should be left to our descendants in memory of our time. Today one cannot find many of the aircraft which were this country's pride in the prewar years, our first automobiles, tractors, etc. Decades later sometimes one must gather piece by piece documents and materials telling about a given event in the history of the people. It is for this reason that the work done by the museum staff at Baykonur and their volunteer assistants merits the highest praise. Already today that which they have collected and preserved offers a fairly complete picture of establishment of the space launch center and the town, and about the beginning of our country's history of space exploration.

3.

A new undertaking always develops new people. The space program has revealed many talented, brilliant workers in all areas of science and technology, in design and production. Many thousands of Soviet citizens worked selflessly on carrying out this program and are continuing to work selflessly today -- scientists,

designers, engineers, technicians, and workers of the most diversified trades. They include some unusually interesting people.

I recently read the memoirs of the chief designer of the first Vostok spacecraft. He was plunged into battle at a border post early that Sunday morning on 22 June 1941, and he remained with the army in the field up to the very last day of the war. After victory he became an engineer, and at the beginning of the 1950's he went to work at S. P. Korolev's design office. He wrote the following about the time when we were commencing to master a new and complex undertaking: "Our characters were forged by the battle front. Combat veterans came to industry, and to our field. They ignored the obstacles of time and other difficulties.... Confidence in their ability helped and united people. The moral climate in the collective was special.... This fused people.... Space became a symbol of our country's might, its upward flight, its pride, and its fortune."

This designer was absolutely right. These people clearly understood their responsibility to the homeland and its future. All of them had to delve into a great many problems connected with the development of a new field of knowledge, and everything was new, from building rockets to outfitting cosmonauts and training them for manned missions.

Of course it was also necessary that I delve into the details of this highly complex business as quickly as possible. I became closely acquainted with scientists, designers, industrial engineers, with many of those people who were directly involved with the production of rockets and future spacecraft.

I am especially grateful to Dmitriy Fedorovich Ustinov, who helped me familiarize myself with many of the specific issues pertaining to these newest branches of industry. During the war years D. F. Ustinov served as a people's commissar and did a fine job of providing our army with military equipment. Immediately following victory he took up the most active and direct participation in development of rockets. Dmitriy Fedorovich is a fine engineer and practical expert, with profound knowledge and considerable organizer abilities. During those years he never was able to take a day off, just as was the case with all of us. On Sundays he usually would be on an airplane flying to a test range or to the rocket complex construction site, in order not only to see for himself how things were going but also to determine what help was needed on a priority basis. It was always pleasant and interesting to work with Dmitriy Fedorovich.

In designing and building sputniks and rockets it was necessary to solve many highly complex problems in the area of engineering design, process engineering, and organization of the manufacture of new materials, as well as the most sophisticated, highly precise instruments and diversified ground equipment. Many manufacturing processes existed only on paper, or at best had been tested only in laboratory conditions. And it was necessary, simultaneously with construction of new shops and plants, to develop in parallel unusually complex manufacturing processes and designs. As had many times in the past occurred in our country, however, scientists, designers, engineers, and workers were found who were capable of overcoming all obstacles on the road toward the objective.

I remember visiting Sergey Pavlovich Korolev's design office in 1956. I wanted to take a closer look at the design of machines which were soon to be produced. At that time the future famed "Number 7" (S. P. Korolev's rocket booster) existed only on paper. Diagrams and wall sheets were hanging in the so-called blue room. Sergey Pavlovich briefed me in detail on how work was progressing on the booster and a heavy satellite and on the difficulties which still remained to be overcome; problems included rocket motors, control system, and the entire launch complex.

"According to our calculations," said Korolev, "we can commence flight-testing the booster in July-August 1957."

A characteristic feature of this individual was the fact that he never smoothed down sharp corners or concealed difficulties. But his clearness of purpose, determination, and strength of conviction were a thing of delight. Apprehensions were being expressed among experts at that time that "Number 7" might not get off the ground; the rocket's very design and the entire launch complex were highly unusual. Sergey Pavlovich affirmed that there were several technical problems, "zagvozdochki" [snags], as he liked to say, which had not yet been entirely resolved.

"But some very bright minds are tackling them," Korolev unexpectedly smiled, and named many of his associates, whom I later got to know quite well. "I am sure that they will find the right solutions."

We had a frank, straightforward conversation. Sergey Pavlovich did not conceal the fact that he often had to overcome skepticism on the part of some scientists, who expressed doubt as to the correctness of the path chosen by Korolev.

"Debates are useful, however," I retorted.

"Yes," he nodded, "when debates are businesslike."

He was a very complicated individual. (Incidentally, I should note that in some descriptions he is presented, as are other conquerors of space, in a highly solemn manner, whereby their personalities are simplified, and the difficulties with which they have been forced to overcome are smoothed away). Sergey Pavlovich Korolev was distinguished by firmness of character; he was demanding when necessary, even harsh, and he was sometimes stubborn, but at the same time he was fairly flexible. He had the ability not only to convince others that he was right but also to listen attentively to his critics.

Work on building "Number 7" was proceeding full bore. Both the party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers were keeping close tabs on progress. One day Dmitriy Fedorovich Ustinov announced that everything was ready for static testing the booster engines, and he invited me to be present.

The space program required enormous work on the ground -- numerous tests and inspections of each and every part and assembly of the rocket booster. Custom equipment was designed and built for this purpose, such as a static test bed

for the engines. Its size was enormous. A multistory metal structure hung over a ravine. A rocket module with propulsion unit was secured to it.

I entered the command bunker together with Dmitriy Fedorovich Ustinov and Sergey Pavlovich Korolev. There were 10 or 12 test engineers in the bunker. Korolev gave the order to commence.

Commands were issued: "Ready! Pull! Switch to drain!"

Everybody was excited. The degree of calmness varied from one person to another, but I am sure nobody was indifferent. Suddenly I heard a whisper: "Please move, I can't see."

The test technician was immediately hissed into silence. I turned around. One of the technicians was trying to get closer to the viewing window. I could understand him: for many long months he had been waiting for this day, preparing for it, perhaps going without sleep some nights, then the moment comes -- and he does not even have a decent view.

"Squeeze in here," I invited him over. "We'll look together."

Another command came: "Ignition!"

This was followed by a thundering roar, as if a dozen artillery pieces had fired simultaneously. The test bed and the rocket module became wreathed in smoke, which was being illuminated from within. At that moment we saw an immense tongue of flame, like a thundering, fiery waterfall.... The burning of rocket engines is an amazing spectacle! The four side units faded, but the central nozzle continued to belch flame. The fire and thunder lasted for more than 100 seconds. Suddenly there was a startling silence. It was as if everything had suddenly been cut off. Everybody in the blockhouse was smiling: the test had been a success. Designers, engineers, and technicians were hugging one another; they immediately began discussing the results of the first test.

"Now it will definitely fly," said Korolev.

Everybody warmly congratulated the chief designer, who naturally was more excited than everybody else at this moment, although he was externally keeping very calm.

"We shall be looking forward to this flight," I said, congratulating S. P. Korolev.

The rocket designers justified the hopes which the party had placed in them. Thanks to their selflessness, courage and heroic labor, the first Soviet intercontinental ballistic missile was fired in August 1957. Launched from Baykonur, the rocket flew precisely on course, and its nose cone impacted in the designated area. This was an outstanding victory for Soviet science and technology. We were standing at the threshold of amazing accomplishments. A new era in the history of mankind was opening up -- the space age. It began in a rather unusual way. One day Sergey Pavlovich came to see me and said: "I propose that we place a PS -- prosteyshiy sputnik [rudimentary satellite] -- on

the next rocket. Why should we carry ballast? Let at least a model spacecraft fly above the earth, with the aid of which we could obtain the first scientific data on the Earth's ionosphere and test our ground surveillance system."

I knew that Korolev's design office had already designed such a satellite. Following a discussion it was acknowledged that placing even a small PS on a rocket would produce new, highly valuable data, which would be useful in subsequent activities. And the decision was made to mount a sputnik on the rocket for the next launch of "Number 7."

It is appropriate at this point to mention one more trait of Academician Korolev. A great deal has been written about him, and he has been duly credited for his contribution to science and technology. Sergey Pavlovich was an outstanding scientist and engineer -- these aspects of his career are widely known. But he was also in my opinion an outstanding politician. He was among the first to foresee and adequately appreciate the enormous influence which space exploration would have on the world situation. He was able to grasp that the example of achievements in astronautics could be used in order persuasively to demonstrate how far the first socialist country had advanced along the road of progress.

Back in the 1930's S. P. Korolev, profoundly aware of the interlink between science and politics, correctly defined the effect of the scientific and technological revolution on social transformations within society. He published a scholarly piece in 1934 entitled "Raketnyy polet v stratosfere" [Rocket Flight in the Stratosphere]. It concludes with the following statement: "We are convinced that rocket flight will develop extensively in the very near future and will take its rightful place in the system of socialist technology. A vivid example of this is aviation, which has achieved such a broad scale and such successes in the USSR. Unquestionably rocket flight can hardly claim less in its field of application, which in time should become customary and deserved."

A combination of moral fiber and dedication to the socialist homeland with profound specialized knowledge and ability made Communist S. P. Korolev an outstanding scientist, who keenly understood our country's needs and potential, and realistically assessing the situation, sought and found the most effective solutions. This is a result of his party training and indoctrination.

4.

On 4 October 1957 the world was jolted by a staggering event. The word "sputnik" immediately entered the international vocabulary. Academician A. A. Blagonravov, one of the pioneers of Soviet rocketry, who was in the United States at the time, once told me: "Scientists literally showered me with questions: how is it that the USSR could beat the United States? Does this mean that your intercontinental ballistic missile is not a phony claim? Isn't the weight given for your sputnik a typographical error -- 83 kilograms, since our first satellite will weigh only a few pounds?"

But the first sputnik was only the beginning. The successful 4 October launch naturally stimulated our efforts in this direction. I summoned Sergey Pavlovich

Korolev to the Central Committee. Warmly congratulating him on the successful launch, I asked: "Is it possible to launch another sputnik in the near future?"

"We have given some thought to this," he replied. "We can schedule the next launch for one and a half to two months hence."

"Well, Sergey Pavlovich, this was a fine gift to the entire people. But we do not need a repeat of what has already taken place. It is very important that the new sputnik differ qualitatively from the first one."

"Of course," he said. "We are planning an experiment with an animal. This will be a major step forward."

It was always easy to talk and work with Korolev; we understood each other well. Of course such a mission would make it possible to evaluate for the first time how a living organism behaves in space and the effect which weightlessness would have on it. This was very important, Sergey Pavlovich said, for man's first flight into space.

He called me the following evening and said that all of his colleagues had returned from vacation early.

"They are already back to work," Sergey Pavlovich added in his customary laconic fashion.

A sputnik carrying on board a dog named Layka was launched into orbit early in November. The mission was a success. Valuable data were returned to Earth on the behavior of this first living being in space. This was a fine gift from the designers, scientists, and workers in honor of the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution.

Other launches followed. And on each mission our chief designer was accomplishing some fundamentally new space task. Soon Soviet scientific stations reached the Moon, took photographs of its far side and transmitted them back to Earth. The program was expanding day by day. It was now time to build specialized enterprises, at which scientists and design engineers would commence working with automatic interplanetary probes, manned orbital stations, and satellites. But S. P. Korolev's design office remained the heart of this vast undertaking. This man's scientific and technical ideas were always interesting, well substantiated, thoroughly reasoned and, one might say, agonized through. Their power of attraction was by virtue of a combination of the most unchecked boldness and the most rigorous practical approach.

The life of Sergey Pavlovich Korolev is a most vivid example of how the Great October Revolution transformed not only the destiny of the world but also the fate of each individual. He dreamed about aviation as a young man, and he achieved his dream -- he began designing and testing gliders. Becoming a designer, he became acquainted with the writings of K. E. Tsiolkovski and became enamored with rocketry.... It would seem that such engineers as Korolev were engaging in science fiction, for the 1930's were just beginning. But the party and government supported these enthusiasts, and the famed GIRD

(Group for the Study of Jet Propulsion) was formed -- the forebear of future large design offices and plants which would design and build rockets and space hardware.

I shall note in passing that today as well there are many inventors in this country. Each year they save our country millions of rubles and are successfully solving highly complex problems pertaining to scientific and technological advance. We must admit, however, that there are some who have a skeptical attitude toward this work: this is no time for flights of fancy, they say. How wrong they are! They were also saying about the GIRD people that it was highly unlikely that anything would come of their efforts in the near future, but they did not turn their back on the inventors. And when the terrible war years came, it was precisely these people who gave our army the famed "Katyushas" [multiple rocket launchers]. And soon after the war they helped in the development of jet-propelled aviation, and they designed rocket hardware. Could we have gone into space if such "fantasizers" and "dreamers" as Korolev had not begun working with dedication back in the 1930's?

Some people considered him a scientist, others -- a designer, and still others -- a science organizer, somehow placing these terms in opposition to one another. I believe that science and technology in the 20th century have become so closely merged that it is not always possible to delineate: basic research ends here, and applied research begins here. The scope of Korolev's person is so great that he combined within himself an outstanding scientist, a fine design engineer, and a gifted organizer. This enormous new field of endeavor required precisely such a person -- a person dedicating his entire life to a single goal. There is probably no other possibility in an age in which science is becoming a direct productive force and when its role in the affairs of society has grown extraordinarily.

Our chief designer liked to dream about the future. When he had a free moment, he sometimes would begin to talk about spacecraft which would be flying "two or three five-year plans hence," about large orbital stations, and about the unusual occupations of cosmonauts -- astronomer and welder, for example. Only the first sputniks and comparatively simple unmanned spacecraft had been launched.... Time has shown that here too Korolev's "fantasy" was based not only on a scientist's intuition but also on precise engineering calculation. It is not surprising that one still hears: Sergey Pavlovich's idea came to pass! His colleagues often stress that there is also a great deal of Korolev in today's spacecraft....

I wrote this -- and the thought came that no matter how sophisticated new equipment may be, sooner or later it must become obsolete. Other things remain -- principles, work methods, and a person's influence on his contemporaries. Sergey Pavlovich became a teacher with a capital T for thousands of scientists and designers; he trained many disciples, who in turn will pass on their experience and knowledge to new generations. And it will never be forgotten that Academician Korolev was the originator of this chain of events.

To work as he worked means moving forward courageously, purposefully, daring, dreaming, and fighting for one's dream. Every minute, every hour, every day -- through one's entire life!

One should not assume, however, that Sergey Pavlovich always came to me at the Central Committee only bearing new plans, businesslike and preoccupied. He was a man who loved life very much, a man with a great sense of humor. Coming to see me on business, he sometimes would suddenly push the papers aside and relate some incident which had taken place at the design office or at the space launch center. He would relate these stories with enthusiasm and humor. Sometimes he would retell a humorous story made up about him by his colleagues. Korolev was strict and demanding both on himself and on his comrades, but he always maintained an easy way about him. This was very helpful in his work. Sometimes things are different. A person walks in and you sense that he is ill at ease and hastens to agree about everything. Korolev had the ability to defend his point of view in any situation. He also, however, had the ability to reply in an easy manner with a joke and to display quick wit in a conversation.

I remember a New Year's Eve we spent together. We had a very long work session extending late into the evening -- there were a great many complex issues to be discussed. As we were saying good-bye, Sergey Pavlovich related to me about a hundred bottles of French champagne which their design office had unexpectedly received. It seems that some vintner in Paris had made a bet with his friends that man would never be able to see the far side of the moon. A few months later our spacecraft successfully flew around the moon and photographed its far side. Soon the first "Atlas of the Far Side of the Moon" was also published. The Frenchman kept his word and sent 100 bottles of champagne to the USSR Academy of Sciences.

5.

The space age has engendered a great many notions and concepts which previously did not exist and has engendered new fields of knowledge and new professions. One of these is the heroic and fascinating profession of cosmonaut. It demands of a person a high degree of intelligence, a high degree of technical knowledgeability, and constant readiness to perform exploits.

Preparation of the first earthling to go into space was conducted in a very thorough and painstaking manner. A firm decision was reached in advance: a manned space mission would not take place until after two successful launches of satellites, one of which was to carry animals on board, while the other was to carry a dummy cosmonaut.

One day Sergey Pavlovich informed me that he had met the future cosmonauts.

"What is your impression?" I inquired.

"Wonderful fellows," Korolev replied. "I particularly liked one of them. Gagarin is the lad's name...."

Korolev and Gagarin! These two persons became symbols of the space age, symbols of the heroism of the Soviet people and their historic accomplishments. The former graduated from a construction trades school in the 1920's, while the latter was a journeyman in the difficult postwar period. A country in which people who began their working life as a roofer's helper and apprentice

foundryman are blazing a trail to the stars for mankind is a most remarkable country!

In the lives of Korolev and Gagarin the entire world and we ourselves saw particularly clearly what great opportunities socialism offers the man of labor and our young people. Two of these people have become widely known throughout the world. For many they are an embodiment of our people. That is in fact what they are.

At the beginning of 1961 man's historic march into space was just in the beginning stages.

Korolev, who had reached the culmination of his life, was in a hurry. Every request he made would be carried out immediately, but the chief designer would remain in the design office literally for days on end. At one of our meetings -- it had dragged on and on -- I noted that Sergey Pavlovich had become pale and his face had become pinched. I asked him to stay after the meeting. He begged off, however: "I can't. The combined spacecraft tests have already begun, and they are waiting for me at the plant. Can't we put it off until tomorrow?"

"When will the tests be completed?"

"In the evening. About 10 or 11 o'clock if everything goes smoothly."

That day I also worked late. It was late in the evening when I left the Central Committee building.

"Let's drive over to Korolev," I told my driver.

I found Sergey Pavlovich in the assembly shop. He was sitting over to the side on a stool and gazing fixedly upward, where an overhead traveling crane was gingerly carrying a booster component. I was told that he frequently sat there like that, silently watching the assembly process. It was easier for him to think here on the shop floor -- he did not like offices, saying: "The telephones are ringing all the time."

The assembly shop had an unusual look to it, illuminated by spotlights and other lights. The spacecraft and rocket presented a striking appearance with their size and fantastic silhouettes.

Seeing us, Korolev brightened. "Isn't it pretty?" he asked.

"Very."

"I have this feeling as if we did not make all this. I come here and am always amazed.... Would you like some tea? We can talk over tea."

That evening Korolev reported that tests on two sputnik-spacecraft had been completed.

"And they have begun assembling the first Vostok," he added.

We fell silent. Both of us realized what this meant -- the /first/[double-spaced word] Vostok.

I wanted to ask once more whether everything had been provided to ensure the cosmonaut's safety and whether there was complete assurance that he would return safely from space, but I refrained from asking. I knew that the chief designer had checked and rechecked everything hundreds of times. And this had also been discussed a great deal. We merely looked each other in the eye.

"They are complaining about you, Sergey Pavlovich: you aren't getting any rest at all," I said.

"They are exaggerating," Korolev smiled. "On my days off I sleep all day."

He was an amazing individual! A great deal in our space ventures depended on him.

...Finally that morning came which we had all been awaiting impatiently: pre-launch procedures and the launching of a manned spacecraft. We were quite moved by Yuriy Gagarin's parting words.

"In a few minutes," he said, "a powerful spacecraft will be carrying me into the depths of the universe.... I scarcely need to describe my feelings when I was selected to make history's first space flight. Joy? No, it was not only joy. Pride? No, it was not only pride. I experienced great happiness. To be the first in space, to engage the forces of nature in unprecedented hand-to-hand combat -- can one dream of more?"

These were moving words! Reading them over today, there appears before one's eyes the picture of a charming, strong, intrepid individual, of whom both his mother, who raised him, and the entire country could be proud, for he was one of its finest sons. He was the first earthling in space. You will recall what an enthusiastic, nonregulation, purely Russian word was exclaimed by Gagarin, a word unprescribed by any instructions or commands, at that most tense and, quite frankly, dangerous moment, when the gigantic rocket was trembling under the pressure of the rocket blast -- "Geronimo!" [poyekhali -- we're off].

He was a well-built fellow who smiled a lot; he was amazingly calm, and one sensed that this did not require any effort on his part. He was courageous and straightforward in all things -- this was the essence of his character. When we met and chatted, I was attracted by his native intellect, his keenness of observation, his sense of humor and unfailing modesty, which he retained even after he became truly world-famous. I must confess that I had a warm, paternal feeling toward Gagarin.

After the first trips to other countries, where this still quite young man represented our entire people with a great deal of dignity, he told about what "acumen" was displayed by some foreign journalists. "Gagarin?" they probed.

"It is obvious why you were assigned to make the first manned space flight. Your last name is of the Russian nobility. You must be a descendant of a princely family...." He mirthfully laughed in reply -- the grandson of Smolensk peasants, the son of a kolkhoz farmer, banished from the family hut by the fascists, who became a worker after victory, later became a pilot, and finally a cosmonaut. Once again it was necessary to convince the Western world that in a socialist country people's names do not glorify noble birth or wealth but honor valor and labor.

On 12 April 1961 we remembered a great deal and we keenly experienced a great deal, gazing into the face of the hero, a face which only yesterday had been unfamiliar to most. We recalled the country's past, the stress of the five-year plans, the mortal conflict with the enemy, the destruction after the war, and the years of rebirth. And now this flight -- an embodiment of our dream, of our indomitable spirit, our faith, the faith of Communists in the chosen path. And on that day everything came together in a single person, in a single name. Konstantin Simonov expressed all our feelings well:

It is dawn. We don't know anything yet,
The normal news report....
But he is already flying across the constellations.
The land will awaken with his name.

As chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, I presented Yuriy Alekseyevich Gagarin with the Order of Lenin and the Hero's Gold Star. These were moving, unforgettable moments. I was doubly pleased: I too had given many years of my life to the great and difficult undertaking of which the entire Soviet people were now so proud.

Our homeland highly praised the exploit of hero-cosmonaut Gagarin. Seven prominent scientists and designers were awarded a second Hammer and Sickle Gold Medal for successes in the advance of our rocket technology and Soviet astronautics, and the title Hero of Socialist Labor was awarded to many leading designers, top officials, scientists and workers. I was also awarded a high honor by the homeland -- the title Hero of Socialist Labor -- for my modest contribution to the common cause.

Following the historic April space flight, additional triumphal news began coming in from the Baykonur Space Launch Center. German Titov -- son of a village intellectual and grandson of Siberian commune members -- was launched on the first 24-hour mission.... Valentina Tereshkova -- a Yaroslavl textile worker, who had found time for work, for study, and for sport parachute jumping -- became the first woman in space. And what a pity that her father, who died a hero's death during the war, did not live to see this day.... New heroes were launched on missions, and every time we saw that their biographies were typical for our society. They were the children of workers, kolkhoz farmers, school-teachers, doctors, and soldiers in the Great Patriotic War. And these were people who had achieved through their labor and talent those heights to which their great country had raised them both literally and figuratively.

Soviet cosmonauts were conducting increasingly deeper reconnaissance of near-earth space, and were feeling right at home in space. Our country and our people will be ever proud of the chronicle of these victories. The first sputnik, man's penetration into space, the first prolonged manned mission, group missions, extravehicular activity -- all these things were accomplished first by Soviet citizens. Our scientists, designers, engineers, and workers were successfully solving fundamental problems in astronautics, without which its development would be impossible. Suitable experiments were conducted on each mission, and a large number of important scientific and technical solutions were tested and successfully passed the tests.

Man becomes accustomed to everything. Today very few people would be amazed by a space flight. Piloted spacecraft have become almost commonplace, orbital stations are operating in space, and craft of highly complex design are reaching the planets of the Solar system. Astronautics and space exploration have become one of the signs of our time.

It is wonderful that we have become so quickly accustomed to scientific advances; this attests to the solid nature of our achievements, but I would like to add that we should not forget that, just as in the past, they are attained through the enormous efforts of teams of people, their tireless labor and selfless heroism.

Recently the following conversation took place in my office, following a space mission.

"But should we award cosmonauts a second Gold Star if they have already previously been awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union for achievements in space?" said one of the people present. "Perhaps we should have a special decoration and award it for subsequent missions? Some people think that we decorate cosmonauts too often."

I could not fully agree with that opinion. An exploit remains an exploit, and if a person displays heroism anew, this must be noted and saluted. Of course the time will come -- it is not too far off -- when the job of cosmonaut will become just as normal as the job of seaman, truck driver, or pilot. Perhaps it will be necessary to institute a special decoration for space exploits for those who have been on several missions. But it is my conviction that today our space explorers receive their decorations deservedly. There have as yet not been two identical flights; each mission is a new stride into the unknown, and one must be delighted at the heroism of individuals who consciously and deliberately perform such feats.

Yuriy Gagarin's flight lasted 108 minutes, and this was a feat which stunned the world. But are not the 175 days spent by Vladimir Lyakhov and Valeriy Ryumin in space astonishing? At the dawn of the space age it was difficult even to dream about such swift development of astronautics.

It is a real feat to spend a long time in space, in such unaccustomed conditions. It is a genuine exploit to go on a mission, aware that at any moment the spacecraft could experience all kinds of mishaps. After all, this is space, about which we do not know very much. To work in space, and with the

work results produced by today's cosmonauts, is a threefold exploit. Their workday in space involves all kinds of activities! Academician Korolev's "fantasies" have come true: they have been metallurgists, astronomers, film cameramen, geophysicists, and geologists -- they have shown themselves to be excellent specialists in many fields of science, technology, and areas of the economy.

Such is the cosmonaut's profession -- their labor promotes the advance of mankind in the most diversified areas.

Reflecting on the life of Yuriy Gagarin and his friends, one cannot help but think about how much of everything which is dear to us has come together in the countenance of these young people, how many important things have been encompassed by their space missions, bold in concept and brilliant in execution. It is not surprising that they have become an inspiring example for millions of boys and girls. One can say that cosmonauts embody the finest traits of Soviet youth of the latter half of the 20th century.

6.

In connection with this I would like briefly to address our young people, whom we love, in whom we have complete trust, on whom we place our brightest hopes, and in whom we see our country's future.

I have spoken on numerous occasions about indoctrination of the younger generation -- at Komsomol congresses, at a teachers' congress, and at many get-togethers with young people. This topic, however, always retains its relevance; it is vitally important for us, and therefore it would not be superfluous to repeat some things at this point.

Time dictates its laws to people. The younger succeed their elders. This is how it is in the family, and this is also how it is in society. The succession of generations is not an instantaneous process but a prolonged, complex process, which encompasses a great deal. It is first of all concern for young people, wise counsel, mentorship, help in study and in labor. It is also joint work performed by people of differing age, work done hand in hand, shoulder to shoulder. And finally, there comes a time for each generation when it advances into positions and takes onto its shoulders the brunt of the burden, assumes responsibility for the well-being of its elders and for the happiness of the children, in which it too sees the country's future.

It is a beautiful, harmonious, eternal process.... It is difficult for young people to picture themselves as mature individuals -- rather quite possibly the opposite. Everyone who has lived a fair number of years knows from his own experience that heightened impressionability is characteristic of youth, willingness to perform deeds, a romantic propensity for the new. Also characteristic are young self-pride, a certain tendency toward ruffled feathers, a desire to prove one's ability, and a desire to become independent as quickly as possible. All these are natural aspirations, and they should be tactfully supported and guided toward large and good deeds which are beneficial to society.

Each new generation performs its own historical tasks, seeks and finds its own pathways, its own methods, its own work style and lifestyle. One should also approach this with understanding. Recalling my Komsomol youth, I now realize that my father and mother may not have liked everything about our noisy meetings or our Komsomol activities proper. We also were singing new songs, sometimes songs to which elderly people were not at all accustomed. But with genuine folk wisdom they were able to see the essence of the matter, ignoring details. And this essence consisted in the fact that I, just as all my friends at that time, felt right at home in the worker milieu, loved the factory, and always treated my mother and father with deep filial respect. The main thing is the attitude of youth toward preceding generations, toward that which they have achieved, and toward their revolutionary traditions.

The grandfathers fought on the barricades against the autocracy, fought on the battlefields of the civil war, established and consolidated the power of the Soviets. The sons laid down the foundation of socialist industry, carried out collectivization in the village, and defended our country against the Hitlerite invaders. It fell to the lot of the grandsons to mount an assault on space and to plow the virgin lands, to master the energy of the atom, to produce oil in Western Siberia, and to build the Baikal-Amur Mainline.... Each generation has had its own trials, its own feats, and its own splendid victories. And youth has not copied its predecessors, which essentially is impossible, but has adopted their revolutionary fervor and Communist strength of conviction, their love of the homeland and their deep, total devotion to the cause of our party. Herein lies the guarantee of all our successes.

Meeting young workers, farm machinery operators, college students, construction workers, and members of the Armed Forces, and looking into their impulsive, happy, enthusiastic faces, I have many times thought about how it is easier for persons of the older generation to compare the past and the present. Through their own experience they can appraise the contrast between that which was and that which is now. Boys and girls do not have this capability. Our young people know only from textbooks and other books about the prerevolutionary poverty and lack of rights of the people and about the terrible exploitation of the workers and peasants. Persons who have seen the Great Patriotic War only in the movies have now reached adulthood. Those who witnessed our first space exploits are also growing beyond Komsomol age.

Time moves swiftly; it cannot be halted, and this places particular responsibility on us for educating the younger generation. It is partly for this reason that I took up the pen to tell about events which in actual fact are not so far in the past. But they are truly receding beyond the personal experience of our young people.

According to the most recent census, more than 200 million persons in this country were born after the October Revolution. That is the overwhelming majority of the population! These figures are of course even greater today. They are Soviets from birth, having known no other way of life, and their character is that of Soviet man. And this is wonderful, but dialectics are such that, if one gives it some thought, this also creates certain difficulties in educating the new generation.

We are glad that our children and grandchildren have not been forced to experience the privations which fell to our lot, that different housing and material conditions have been created for them, that today they have richer opportunities for education, cultural development, physical culture and sports. This affects even the external appearance of our young people: our boys and girls are attractive, tall and healthy. And, I repeat, this pleases us. But it is a bad thing when a young person, who has barely begun his life's journey, is constantly told that everything has been given to him and that everything is available to him. It is bad when this leads to parasitism, when as a result an eased perception of life is engendered.

Unfortunately some parents, acting from the very finest motives, attempt to shelter their children from all trials and ordeals and from any and all labor. Their reasoning goes as follows: we have had to work -- let them have it easy. He who knows only to take, however, but has not learned to give, cannot be genuinely happy. Selfish individuals, acquisitive persons, loafers and alcoholics -- they are their own worst enemies. This sometimes reaches the point of absurdity: some moustached "child" absents himself from work, gets drunk during working hours, or even engages in rowdiness and thievery, and then his mother rushes to the personnel department or to the police to speak on behalf of her offspring. This is not very amusing, no matter how you slice it. Experience indicates that very few repay their parents and their nation with good for such "solicitude."

Of course such things are not typical of life in the Soviet Union. But even if there are such cases, even if they are infinitesimally few in number, it is our task to wage a struggle for each and every individual. A parent's love should not be blind, but in equal measure the love of society toward its younger generation should also not be blind. It is precisely because of concern about our young boys and girls, giving serious thought to their future, and wishing them genuine happiness that we must develop in young people a love of labor, courage, and a sense of duty. Indoctrination should not be in general, not merely within the masses, but should be directed toward each individual. This work does not and cannot have any exceptions.

That which has been stated above does not diminish our successes. The party has taken a course aimed at increasing the prosperity of the Soviet people and intends firmly to follow this course. And the better our people work, the faster living standards will rise. But for life in our country to be even purer, even brighter, we must remember that prosperity and welfare do not merely mean satiation. It also mandatorily means a rise in people's cultural levels, spiritual aspirations, and strength of ideological conviction. The bright future which we are building is not a kingdom of loafers, containing rivers of milk and shores of jellied sweetmeats, but rather the most industrious, most highly organized society in the history of mankind. And the people living in it will be hard-working, organized, conscientious, and possessing a high degree of awareness.

Socialism offers young people the most extensive opportunities for education, for comprehensive development, and for productive growth. We incorporated in the new USSR Constitution not only a guaranteed right to work, which capitalist

countries do not have, but also the right of choice of profession, kind of occupation, work in conformity with one's calling, abilities, occupational training, and also taking into consideration the needs of society. It is up to our young people: they must utilize the societal privileges they have been given for the good of society -- persistently and purposefully.

And it is for this reason that we Communists say to Komsomol members, to our young people, to all those who will be taking our place: be daring, try out your abilities, seek your right place in life, and prove your right to great things. We have endeavored to hand over to you a powerful industry, beautiful fields, and beautiful cities; be true experts at your job, in order to multiply the people's wealth a hundredfold. We have done everything possible to preserve peace on Soviet soil, and we have succeeded in keeping your childhood and youth free of war -- be strong and intrepid, in order to continue in the future defending our homeland against any and all encroachments. We have advanced, to the extent we have been able, into the expanses of space and into the depths of matter -- be prepared to continue advancing forward. Be aware that no matter how grand our achievements are, they are a foundation, a base for your further advance.

You young people belong to the generation which will be marching into the third millenium of our era. We know in advance what important economic tasks you will be able to set for yourselves and successfully accomplish. No less important are those programs which are connected with the advance of science and culture, with the shaping of man and societal relations. The countenance of the future is being shaped today in large measure, because it is precisely today that we are educating the people of the third millenium.

Our country needs people of an innovative bent -- increasingly more educated, receptive to new scientific discoveries, and bold in their searchings. And the main thing, as regards preparing those who will take our place, is to teach people to think independently. Only in this way can we ensure that young people grasp the great ideas of communism not as a rote-learned lesson but as a system of their own views. Only with this do views and attitudes remain firm, regardless of attacks by our ideological adversaries.

Everything mentioned above comprises the constant concern of our party, and it is performing great services in indoctrinating the younger generation. This should become the concern of Komsomol, the schools, the family, workforces, and the entire adult population. This should become the concern of writers and people in the arts. Much has been accomplished, but the tasks are constantly growing.

I want to stress that I do not have the slightest doubt -- on the contrary, I am fully convinced that those who take our place will be worthy of the great road which has been trod by our people, that our young people will take up the baton from their fathers and will carry it to heights of advance -- scientific, economic, social, and moral -- which today we are hard put perhaps even to imagine.

"We shall always be a party of the youth of the vanguard class!" Vladimir Il'ich Lenin stressed, and then went on to explain: "We are the party of the future,

and the future belongs to youth. We are a party of innovators, and young people always more readily follow innovators."

The assault on space was an innovator's enterprise. And this intrepid dash into the future, which encompassed the labor and daring of several generations of Soviet citizens, will remain a solid landmark in the history of our country and will always inspire our youth and our entire people to new feats and accomplishments.

7.

The conquest of space became possible as a result of a solid fusion of science and labor, skill, experience, knowledge and, of course, the talents of many people. I should like to make special mention of one of these people. In 1961 the newspapers, alongside the words "Chief Designer," frequently also mentioned "theorist of astronautics." They were referring to a most eminent Soviet scientist, thrice Hero of Socialist Labor Academician Mstislav Vsevolodovich Keldysh, who indeed was a theorist of astronautics.

History was being made before our very eyes, and he was right in the middle of events. Back in the 1930's when aviators encountered a puzzling vibration, which was called flutter and which killed many pilots in various countries, it seemed that a limit had been reached in aircraft speeds. But Mstislav Vsevolodovich removed this barrier; he was able to determine the causes of these vibrations and suggested to design engineers how to eliminate them. Scientists said about him: "There do not exist any problems in mathematics which Keldysh could not solve." Keldysh's talent was particularly strikingly revealed during the period of development of rocket and space hardware.

His enormous talent as a mathematician rendered inestimable services in computations, without which no space mission is even conceivable. His labor made it possible to accomplish precision insertion of our rockets into orbit. The trajectories followed by sputniks and automatic interplanetary stations were computed and highly complex problems of flight aerodynamics, spacecraft and rocket design were solved under the guidance of Mstislav Vsevolodovich. His contribution to theory and practice of space exploration cannot be overstated. His contribution is truly massive, and the name of Academician Keldysh deservedly stands alongside the name of Academician Korolev.

The life of this remarkable individual, who comes from a family of Russian intellectuals, was dedicated to science from his early years. In 1961 M. V. Keldysh was placed in charge of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and under his stewardship Soviet science made enormous strides forward in its development and affirmed its high degree of prestige in world science. I knew Mstislav Vsevolodovich very well. I had many long conversations with him. I was deeply impressed by the breadth of his knowledge, his precise reasoning, and the wisdom of his counsel, which he always presented with exceptional tactfulness and kindness.

I would say the following about this man: he laid out roads into space, computed them with great mathematical precision, just as he, an organizer of Soviet science, had pioneered many unexplored trails in world science, in its most

varied domains. He was a true patriot of his country, always worked for the benefit of his people, did not seek praise from abroad, and precisely for this reason his name was respected throughout the world. His bright intellect, enormous organizing abilities, and profound party principledness -- these are genuine traits of a great Soviet scientist-Communist.

I must also mention another eminent scientist and designer, who has played an enormous role in the development of rocketry and space technology and in ensuring our country's reliable defense capability. I am speaking of Academician Mikhail Kuz'mich Yangel'. I believe that his career is also worthy of emulation and is instructive for our young people.

The road to chief designer began for Mikhail Kuz'mich in the tiny Siberian village of Zyryanovo. After completing factory apprentice training, he was hired as a factory loom operator. Komsomol, taking notice of this capable lad, sent him to study at the Moscow Aviation Institute. For more than 10 years, including during the harsh years of the war, he worked at various aviation enterprises, and when rocket technology began to be born, he took employment with Sergey Pavlovich Korolev. In 1954, in view of his considerable experience and enormous talent, M. K. Yangel' was placed in charge of one of our country's design offices. And a new trend in rocketry was developed under his direction in only 5 years.

From worker to chief designer -- this is the career of Mikhail Kuz'mich Yangel'. And we could once again emphasize the typical nature of this biography and once again state what opportunities the Great October Revolution opened up for people from the masses, for working people. But at this point I want to emphasize something else: it is not enough to give a person rights -- in addition, he must utilize them. Today's Lomonosovs no longer need to walk on foot from distant villages; the state will help them find their place, will provide them with everything they need for their studies, but it is they who must do the studying. This is why it is important for young people to remember that every step taken by persons like Yangel', persons who have gained recognition in our country, has required persistent labor.

Yangel' was most frequently called not by his first name and patronymic, but Kuz'mich. This detail is quite significant: he had the common touch and was accessible to everybody. To the workers he was both chief designer and a fellow worker. Of course when the first models of his new rockets were being developed, he, just like Korolev, spent nights on end at the design office and shops. People of this level of greatness do not know how to take it easy, but precisely for this reason they are able to accomplish in their lifetime hundreds of times as much as vain, calculating individuals. Kuz'mich was a true leader -- he was able to assume responsibility and was not afraid to put his reputation on the line. And not once did he fail to keep his promise.

M. K. Yangel' developed a missile defense system. Development of this system required not only labor but a design engineer's talents. Yangel' was a naturally gifted individual.

Some will say that it would be a good thing to expend the talent and energies of such individuals on something else. I agree. But we are living in an era

where we cannot permit ourselves to be defenseless in the face of imperialism, which is continuing to escalate the arms race and is attempting to undermine détente.

We have not intended and do not intend to threaten anybody in developing weapons systems, including nuclear missile weapons. Our country has no claims on a single inch of foreign soil. But we remember Lenin's statement that no revolution is worth anything if it is unable to defend itself. Precisely for the sake of defending the peaceful labor of our people and for implementing the great plans specified in the decisions of our party congresses, we must have a firm and reliable defense, in order to eliminate the possibility of a sneak attack on our country.

The peoples of the world have been living for more than 30 years now without war, and considerable credit for this (I do not believe that anybody can accuse our nation of a lack of modesty) goes to the Soviet Union, its peace-seeking foreign policy, and to the reliable defenders of its borders -- the army and navy. The policy of the USSR has been and continues to be a policy of peace. Our party has advanced a disarmament program and is continuing to seek its implementation. Implementation of this program would give a one-sided advantage to neither party. To take a different path, to weaken our defense at a time when imperialism is building up its arms, would mean disarming in the face of imperialist forces. We cannot and will not do this. We want genuine disarmament, which would not disrupt the established approximate balance of forces in the world, and we do not want the processes of disarmament to disrupt the principle of equal security of the opposing sides. Our proposals are permeated by this, and it is in this spirit that we are conducting negotiations with our Western partners.

The Soviet Union has authored a number of most important initiatives, directed toward ensuring stability and world peace. Our peace proposals are continuously being further deepened and developed in party documents and in statements by CPSU and Soviet Government leaders. We have declared before the U.N. forum that we pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. This is evidence not only of our peace-loving nature but is also a vivid example of historical optimism. We believe in a peaceful future and are stinting no effort to proceed at all times along this path!

8.

As CPSU Central Committee secretary dealing with matters pertaining to further strengthening our country's defense might and development of civil aviation, I frequently met with and talked with famed Soviet aircraft designers A. N. Tupolev, S. V. Il'yushin, A. I. Mikoyan, P. O. Sukhoy, A. S. Yakovlev, O. K. Antonov, G. V. Novozhilov, N. D. Kuznetsov, A. M. Lyul'ka, and others.

These are different individuals, of an interesting bent of mind. Once during a conference I gazed at the people in the auditorium and thought how Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's dream had come true -- we have created our own intelligentsia, the flesh and blood of the people. Andrey Nikolayevich Tupolev, dean of aircraft designers, is perhaps the only one who was shaped prior to the revolution.

All the rest of our famed designers and developers of aircraft, engines, electronic gear, communications equipment, and modern weapons were brought up under Soviet rule, graduated from our higher educational institutions, were Pioneers, Komsomol members, and became Communists; they are representatives of a genuinely people's intelligentsia, totally devoted to the Soviet system and the ideals of our party. Such is the essence of their ideological outlook, which dictates the ideas and deeds of these people, which has determined and is determining their entire path through life.

In connection with this I should like to state that our intelligentsia is far from that narrow "educated stratum" which in Czarist Russia stood out sharply against the ignorant, downtrodden, illiterate masses. It is becoming increasingly more difficult to draw a line of demarcation here, because knowledge, which was possessed by the select few, has become accessible to the majority of our country's population. Universal compulsory secondary education has been introduced in this country, and today we see everywhere highly educated, thinking, socially active, genuinely cultured industrial and agricultural workers. In addition, the enormous quantitative growth of the intelligentsia is being accompanied by qualitative changes in its composition. Suffice it to cite two figures: there were 136,000 specialists with higher education in Czarist Russia -- today we have more than 12 million. Eighty-eight times as many! One can easily comprehend that the overwhelming majority of today's intellectuals are the children of workers and peasants.

Turning to statistics, the makeup of the population of the USSR is as follows: workers comprise more than 60 percent of the toilers [trudyashchikhsya]. The worker class continues to be the cementing force of society; it is playing and will continue to play a leading role in building communism. We can state with full justification that our society is grounded on an alliance between the worker class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and the toiling intelligentsia.

In the process of developing ideological-political and social consolidation of society, all detachments of our genuinely popular, toiling intelligentsia work selflessly, recognize the need for their labor, and are universally respected and honored in this country. This applies to teachers, engineers, doctors, agronomists, legal experts, and people in culture, literature, and the arts. It also applies in full measure to scientists, researchers, designers, and military experts, whom we are discussing here. We must state that they have made a very large contribution to defense of the achievements of the October Revolution, to our victory in the Great Patriotic War, and to establishment of the science and technology of the society of developed socialism.

Take our civil aviation. The fact is that today millions of Soviet citizens travel more by air than by train or boat. This fact no longer surprises anybody, just as the fact that airplanes and helicopters do an enormous amount of agricultural, transportation, construction, erection and other work. We were the first in the world to fly regular jet passenger service, we ushered in the age of supersonic passenger service, and we handle highly complex transcontinental flights. Here we should not only give credit to the aircraft designers but also note the dangerous work performed by test pilots and the persistent labor by pilots, navigators, flight engineers, and powerplant mechanics of the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation, which has for many years been directed by Chief

Marshal Aviation B. P. Bugayev. He himself is a veteran pilot, who once commanded an aviation combined unit, and was a test pilot on the Tu-104, the first Soviet passenger jet.

Incidentally, it was he who flew Yuriy Gagarin from Baykonur to Moscow. He invited Gagarin into the cockpit, en route, and let him take the controls. As he tells it, the Earth's first cosmonaut was openly pleased that he was allowed to take the controls of a large passenger aircraft. I also have seen B. P. Bugayev on numerous occasions at the controls of modern aircraft, and on one occasion I witnessed his resourcefulness, unusual self-control, and pilot's know-how. It was many years ago. We were flying to Guinea and Ghana for an official visit. At the time I was serving as chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Our flight was proceeding uneventfully, and there was not a cloud in the sky. Suddenly our aircraft was attacked by colonialist fighter planes; they obviously were not pleased about a Soviet delegation visiting young African countries.

I had a clear view of the fighters making their attack pass, diving from above, readying to attack, and commencing fire.... It is a strange feeling to be in such a situation: it is like war, but different. Because there is nothing you can do about it, and the only thing you can do is sit there calmly in your seat, look out the window, and not hinder the pilots from doing their job. Seconds counted. And precisely within these seconds the experienced aircrew, headed by pilot Boris Bugayev, was able to break the civilian aircraft away from the attacking fighters. I cite this incident as an illustration of the fact that even in peacetime we are not safe from acts of provocation of all types....

I do not mind repeating myself for the sake of making things absolutely clear. I shall stress once again that it is precisely the world situation which compels us to equip our Armed Forces with everything they need. We are doing this not in order to threaten anybody -- aggression is alien to the socialist system. I am deeply convinced that our scientists, designers, and workers -- everybody who works on the development of new rockets, tactical and strategic weapons -- understood and understand their task as follows: these are defensive weapons. They will not be used for the purpose of conquering anybody else's territory. We shall never start a nuclear missile war. On the contrary, these are weapons which hold in check those madmen who may appear and attempt to force such a war on peoples, an inhuman, destructive, devastating war.

9.

In these memoirs I have mentioned only a few events in our homeland's space chronicle. Of course I have been able to name only a few of those whom I knew and with whom I worked. It is impossible for one person to present a complete description -- the history of space exploration contains many famous names and glorious deeds. Nor is it yet time to tell the whole story.

But the following must be said: the assault on space was not waged by individuals, not by separate, gifted persons, but by millions of intellects. And all our

victories in this area have become possible thanks to that main victory from which we figure our new chronology -- thanks to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. This country began its assault on the heavens in 1917.

The press in the capitalist countries and Sovietologists of every ilk, following the launching of the first artificial Earth satellite and following the flight of Yuriy Gagarin, tried to figure out the "secret" which enabled the Communists to move out in front. But this secret is simple and, as they say, does not require intelligence verification. The secret lies in the fact that the social, economic, and cultural level of development of our society has made it possible to set for ourselves and successfully to accomplish tasks of this scale. It is quite obvious that we would have neither sputniks nor spacecraft if our country had not amassed such a vast scientific and technological potential.

This concept is quite broad. It includes first and foremost science proper -- basic and applied. Science is a spring, as it were, a source from which rises a full-flowing river of scientific and technological advance. If there is no source, if the spring dries up, the river will become shallow and then dry up entirely.

Socialism is a society which must be supported by science. This is the reason for the flourishing of science in the USSR and is also one of the reasons for the victory of socialism. Only the Soviet system made possible the utilization of science in the interests of the people and has made it possible to bring forth the creative potential and talents which are abundantly in existence in every country. And only with support by the latest advances by the science of nature and society can one successfully build socialism and communism.

Mentally reviewing the epic of space, we can state with full justification that in this respect as well Soviet scientists, designers, and testers of new equipment were performing at full potential, justifying the confidence and faith of the Communist Party, the Soviet State and our entire people.

But that is not all. Scientific and technological potential depends to an enormous degree on the countenance of production proper, on the development of industry as a whole, on its receptivity to new hardware, on its ability rapidly to incorporate scientific advances. This is a mandatory condition. And, finally, scientific and technological potential is determined to a decisive degree by cadres, not only scientists and designers, but also machinery builders, technicians, setup men, installers, lathe operators, and benchworker-mechanics -- all those who are directly involved in designing, building, and working with the latest equipment. In other words, we are dealing here with the occupational training of millions of workers, with the cultural level of the people in the broad meaning of the term, and with our entire national education system.

All this as an aggregate was examined and verified, tested for strength, when we were proceeding to carry out our space program. And the world once again

could see that all links in this chain were working reliably. It was stated above that at the time I had to study a great deal, see a great deal, think about and comprehend a great deal. It would perhaps be useful at this point to relate several of these lessons.

On one of my trips to Baykonur, I was taken by the smoothly-coordinated job being done by the brigade of construction workers who were erecting the launch pad site. An interweave of pipes plunged deep into the ground, metal structures soared skyward, and openwork supports were being erected, which would support the giant rocket and release it at the last moment. Later everybody saw this scene in the movies, on their TV screens, and at the time were astounded by the complexity of the concept and its execution. But the workers had no trouble reading the drawings, worked with precision, and although it was cold -- fierce steppe winds were blowing -- one had the impression that they were easily coping with this new job.

When the erection crews took a break, I walked over to them, introduced myself, and told them about my impression. They smiled, and one of the workers, a thickset, solidly-built individual, said something I have always remembered: "Things become easy when you have done them a hundred times!"

But where could they have done this "a hundred times," since all this was a construction first? We got to talking, and I learned that these construction workers had worked on extremely difficult jobs. These were experts, highly skilled at their job. This same brigade, for example, installed the reactor at the world's first nuclear power station at Obninsk. These workers were acquainted not only with Academician S. P. Korolev, but with Academician I. V. Kurchatov as well.

I have met such highly-skilled workers everywhere -- at construction sites, at rolling mills and steelmaking furnaces, in coal mines and oilfields, and in the shops of many industrial plants. They are distinguished by pride in their occupation, by profound knowledge, a strong sense of responsibility, and dedication to their chosen profession. Any task these individuals would take up would be performed with high quality, on schedule, and conscientiously.

I must say that I have enormous respect for the skill of the working man. And I must also admit that I have no respect whatsoever for those who are careless in their work, who count on things working out somehow, who produce shoddy goods. They work worse than bad. They waste their time processing raw material, they make it necessary to redo what they have done, to expend additional manpower and resources and, most important, can let you down at any time. Must I state that careless work involving the launching of spacecraft would be downright criminal? When we discuss our achievements in this area, we should not forget that these achievements are backed by labor, discipline, and a responsible attitude on the part of tens of thousands of Soviet citizens.

Once when addressing Tula workingmen -- who are carrying on the traditions of ancient Russian craftsmanship -- I recalled their fellow countryman, Leskov's famed Levsha, who had shod the flea. Today's descendants of Levsha have learned to perform tasks which are perhaps even more intricate -- to "catch"

hundredths of a micron, to accomplish spacecraft dockings and undockings, to control from Earth the movements of a lunar vehicle, to bring us lunar soil samples, etc. But the attitude of the experts toward labor remains for the most part as it used to be.

"You will agree with me, I am sure," I said in Tula, "that in our time as well, a time of swift scientific and technological advance, of enormous changes in the nature of labor, the problem of quality remains in large measure a problem of craftsmanship, of professional skill, and of the conscience of each worker."

There is an old rule, which we should not forget: a chain is only as strong as its weakest link. In other words, flawless execution of job assignments should be achieved not only at such important locations as the design offices of S. P. Korolev or M. K. Yangel', but at every single component of this grandiose program without exception. We were fully cognizant of the fact that any failure, even in what might seem to be the most secondary area, could thwart accomplishment of our plans, and if a failure took place in space, it would lead to irreparable consequences.

The essence of organizational questions is as follows: each individual, possessing the requisite authorizations and full responsibility within the limits of these powers, should do his job. This elementary rule of life is at the same time a basic fundamental of the science and practice of management.

The space epic, which was exemplary also from the standpoint of organization, merits not only a grateful memory but also the closest study. It must be studied in order to carry over into other, purely terrestrial and purely civilian branches of production everything which has been learned from this program. We must also carry over the high degree of demandingness, daily verification of execution of scheduled job assignments, and the most rigorous monitoring and inspection.

Why is it that the organizers of our construction industry still permit failure to meet schedules of bringing on-stream facilities which our country needs? Why -- I often ask myself -- do some officials permit their enterprises or even branches of industry to fail to meet plan-specified targets? Evidently we have lessened demandingness on officials in civilian areas. The plan has the force of law, and failure to fulfill the plan must be punished with all the severity of the law. There can be no excuses here either for the general manager or the rank-and-file worker.

Unfortunately one still encounters factory managers who are unable to supply the people in their towns with high-quality primary-necessity goods and who produce bad-quality shoes. They should not be allowed to hide behind the successes of others. Let them put their own work sector in order. Let them achieve discipline, responsibility, and high quality of labor.

In this connection I would like to emphasize one remarkable feature in the evolution of the space program. At first glance it would seem to be totally detached from terrestrial problems, but in actual fact it already today exerts enormous influence on our industry, and with each passing year this influence becomes increasingly more tangible. For example, such fields as computer

hardware and electronics are directly linked with astronautics and its development. Astronautics has demanded the establishment of new branches of industry, more accurate, more compact, and more efficient equipment. While developed for the needs of the space program, however, they immediately began to be utilized in conventional applications. The machines and instruments designed for sputniks, rockets, and spacecraft have forced changes in the very enterprises at which they are manufactured. Increased demands on space hardware and materials have fostered the development of fundamentally new manufacturing processes, automated production lines, and machine tools. Thus the space program has pulled along the leading branches of industry, as it were, and this has had an effect of the quality of work performed and on the level of all production.

The fact is that a unique situation is created in industry when a new area of technology is created. In order to build a rocket, an artificial Earth satellite, or a spacecraft, a certain, very high level of development of production in various branches of industry is essential. And at the same time the development of spacecraft in turn pulls industry along. Mutual enrichment of astronautics and industry helps them develop rapidly. One can state that our industry engendered the space program, that the space program was industry's offspring, and at the same time the space program itself became the forebear of new developments in industry.

I frequently ask myself: do space flights have much significance for science, and have we not paid too dear a price for these investigations? I shall state right at the outset: yes, the conquest of space has required a great deal of resources, the labor of thousands of scientists, technicians, designers and builders of spacecraft, and heroism on the part of our pilot-cosmonauts. Of course we had to give serious thought back two decades ago to whether our plans and capabilities matched up, to determine in advance just what this program would actually give to our people and country.

I recall a curious encounter which took place, I believe, in 1956, before the first sputnik went up. I summoned to the Central Committee Aleksandr Nikolayevich Nesmeyanov -- in those years he was head of the Academy of Sciences. We asked him to tell us how scientists conceived the utilization of spacecraft in the near future and what practical results could be obtained from the launching of satellites for the needs of the nation's economy.

"We have set up a special group of scientists representing various fields of science and technology," the president stated. "They have presented their views on the future prospects of space exploration. Their opinion is unanimous: satellites must definitely be launched, but a diversity of opinion exists on their applied significance. For example, one can take still pictures and motion pictures from space; this is analogous to aerial photography. Research is very important for physicists, astronomers, and other specialists dealing with basic problems. Of course new types of communication with remote parts of the country can also be established via space. Thus there will be a great many areas of satellite application."

This was the opinion of a scientist of great reputation. We also encountered many skeptics, who said: It is not a bit premature to begin playing with the Moon

When there are a great many things to do on Earth? But we were already convinced by that time: space also involves purely terrestrial matters.

It is difficult today to imagine our life without spacecraft; they are engaged in quite mundane tasks. You switch on your TV set or phone Vladivostok, and you do not even give a thought to the fact that space is working for you. Orbita system radio and television relay transmitters are in operation, and telephone calls are routed via Molniya satellites.

Penetrating into the expanses of the universe, we are not only expanding our knowledge of the universe but, and most important, we are obtaining deeper information about our planet. Soviet man places all the achievements of science in the service of the Earth. Space exploration in this country is developing under this slogan. Party decrees have focused our experts on solving precisely such problems. Successes in this area are obvious. Academicians and workers, engineers and technicians, and thousands of people in every part of our country, people of the most diversified areas of specialization, are working today in the space industry. While 20 years ago, when the penetration of space began, we could speak only of our aspiration to gain knowledge of unknown worlds and expanses and dream of that great contribution which the space program would make to the development of science, today it is obvious that space exploration and astronautics have become a separate branch of the economy, from which we are obtaining quite genuine benefits. In addition, today we can weigh on the economic scale that real benefit which people are obtaining from the space program.

The Soviet space program provides for orderly, sequential accomplishment of highly important theoretical and practical tasks of contemporary science.

Penetration of space by man and automatic spacecraft is a natural, logical process. It will be accelerating year by year.

Since the launching of the first artificial Earth satellite and our first manned missions in space, we have done everything possible to ensure that space becomes an arena of international cooperation. New opportunities have opened up for extensive, fruitful development of scientific relations between countries and peoples in the interests of peace and progress by all mankind.

In connection with Yu. A. Gagarin's space flight, a proclamation by the CPSU Central Committee, Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and USSR Council of Ministers emphasized: "We consider victories in space exploration not only an achievement by our people but by all mankind as well. We are happy to place them in the service of all peoples, in the name of progress, the happiness and welfare of all people on Earth."

We continue today to adhere to this high-principled position.

Large-scale international programs have been formulated and are being successfully implemented. Many countries throughout the world are taking part in them, and cooperation is fruitfully developing between Soviet scientists and specialists in France, India, and the United States. But of course we attach particular importance in this work to joint efforts by the brother nations of the socialist community.

We have followed with great excitement the missions of international crews, which included cosmonauts from the brother countries. They worked in orbit together with Soviet cosmonauts. Our friendship has truly reached cosmic heights!

We are in favor of space flights by members of various peoples, and we are in favor of joint efforts in the campaign for knowledge and to study near and distant worlds. Man is being offered tantalizing prospects -- the Moon, Mars, and Venus have become laboratories for our scientists. Did not many generations dream about this?! And we, who are living in the latter half of the 20th century, were able to turn their dream into reality. But knowledge is infinite, just as the universe is infinite, and it is necessary to unite the efforts of all men in order to proceed more swiftly along this difficult journey into space.

We Soviet citizens do not view our space exploration as an end in itself, as some kind of race. The spirit of reckless gamblers in this great and serious business of investigating and conquering space is profoundly alien to us.

I want to emphasize once again that this program is so grandiose and so important for the destiny of mankind, that it demands unification of the efforts of everybody on Earth. An important step along this journey was taken in July 1975 -- the Soviet and U.S. spacecraft Soyuz and Apollo linked up in Earth orbit. The crews worked together harmoniously; they had an excellent understanding of one another, and they tested in a practical manner compatible spacecraft equipment developed by scientists and designers of both countries for the purpose of increasing safety of manned space missions. This joint mission, an important landmark in cooperation between the USSR and the United States in exploration and utilization of space for peaceful purposes, lays down the foundation for possible future Soviet-American activities in this area.

Science-fiction authors often place their heroes on board a vast international space station en route to the stars. The crew includes representatives of peoples of the different continents, who have united their efforts in gaining knowledge both about the universe and their native Earth. This is a wonderful image, and although it is still a bit early for missions to the stars -- there is plenty of work remaining in near-Earth space -- the first steps have been taken toward making this dream a reality.

A WORD ABOUT COMMUNISTS

1.

For me the party and devotion to the party cause is the very heart of life. At times it seems to me that I could not go through a single day without being cognizant of the fact that I am a part of this great whole, without feeling the vital bond with an association of fearless, staunch, just fighters. This is in fact the truth: I could not. Just as the millions of people marching in party ranks, I cannot imagine myself without our party -- that great creation of Lenin's genius, which embodies the revolution, a new societal system, the hopes and aspirations of our people and of all progressive mankind. I am clearly aware that since the day I became a Communist my entire life has taken on lofty moral justification and has been filled with new, special meaning.

It happened in the Urals. On 9 October 1929 the bureau of the Bisertskiy Rayon Committee of the KCP(b) accepted me to probationary party membership. Recently comrades from the Sverdlovsk Oblast Committee sent me an official document of that bureau, bearing the number 44. And I thought to myself -- as the busy days flow past one forgets about things like this: how many years have passed since that memorable day. More than half a century in the party! And I thought with profound, heartfelt gratitude about the glorious Leninist guard, the vanguard detachment of the worker class, of our entire society, and about the millions of comrades in the party, the party which gave us a fortunate opportunity to dedicate ourselves entirely to the struggle for a just cause, to toughen ourselves in most difficult trials, and to feel the joy of victories.

It was a wonderful day! Externally it seemed that nothing had changed: it was fall, rain, a gray sky overhead, and those some impassable unpaved roads of the Ural village. And as usual there were a lot of things to do, and I had to get to distant villages, to help peasants organize artels, and to encourage people to get to work. And yet essentially everything had changed: no longer was it simply land use surveyor Brezhnev who was advancing toward the difficulties and accomplishments of a busy day, but a full-fledged representative of a great party, the determination and intelligence of which were transforming these old Russian areas for a new life. Henceforth I felt, as they say, with my entire being, my participation in the concerns, thoughts, and accomplishments of the entire people.

If someone were to ask what I cannot stand, what I have not liked and do not like most of all, I would reply: solitude. And I am therefore happy that from my days of youth up to the present day I have been and continue to be surrounded by loyal friends, tried and true comrades, companions in arms and like-minded Communists.

That expressive word "party" has been absorbed into my flesh and blood since youth -- through acquisition of political knowledge, tireless labor, and the nation's great deeds. It sounded then -- and sounds always -- as a fiery appeal to fight for the people's happiness, to affirm vanguard ideas and the true things of value of mankind, to purposeful action, staunchness, and self-sacrifice. It contains the hope and determination of working people, a mighty force which is renewing the world.

In 1931 I was accepted as a full member of the Communist Party. I have told about this important event in preceding chapters; it took place in Dneprodzerzhinsk. Receiving at my plant a party card bearing the number 1713187, I realized full well that this little red book, so precious to every Communist, did not give any privileges and benefits to its owner, but rather greater duties and responsibilities in comparison with other people, and demanded a greater feeling of responsibility for assigned tasks.

Being in the ranks of the party does not make a person's life tranquil or easy. On the contrary, having accepted the Party Rules, a person voluntarily takes on more difficult tasks, defines his place in the most difficult sectors, and deprives himself forever more of the possibility of hiding quietly in a snug corner.

Party cards were given to my generation during the years of the first five-year plans, of collectivization, of a genuine cultural revolution in the USSR. They are scorched by the flames of the gravest of wars, and they bear the marks of muscular hands which rebuilt smashed factories, revived villages and towns from rubble, ignited bonfires on the virgin-land steppe, spanned mighty rivers with dams, and sent amazing craft into space.

The personal party record card of Communists of this generation did not remain long at any one rayon committee -- it is marked with all parallels and meridians covering one sixth of the earth's surface. It was precisely the party which determined our work assignment in the overall national effort. And each new party assignment was an inspiring command of the time.

The party of Lenin is the spiritual mother of each and every Communist. It rears us on the party's ideals and teaches us faithfully to serve the people. The party does not shelter us from life's storms but always leads us into the thick of events. You speak the word "party" at moments of greatest emotional enthusiasm and stress; it is capable of inspiring a person to deeds on behalf of the homeland, on behalf of triumph of the cause of communism, peace, and progress.

For me the party became a political school; conditioning of character took place and party high-mindedness and demandingness on oneself and on one's fellow workers were acquired in party ranks. For me, just as for all Communists, party work is the noblest field for serving the interests of the working people, the ideals of justice and humanism.

Thoughts about the party and its affairs always excite me and stir the soul.

In my memoirs I have endeavored to relate in a simple and straightforward manner what I have experienced in the course of my life, the undertakings and events in which I have participated and, more than all else, those fine Soviet citizens whom I have met, seen, gotten to know and love.

I can see now that this was at the same time a narrative about the party. I probably could not have written any differently.

2.

In reawakening in my memory events from the past, I was not thinking about myself. My life is a small part of the life of the people. And if there has been something instructive in it, I believe that it does not lie in what distinguishes my life's path but precisely in what unites it with the life's paths of the majority of our people.

In working on my memoirs, I of course had in mind primarily my fellow countrymen, Soviet citizens. When one says "Soviet citizen," there appear before one's mind's eye thousands of acquaintances with their unique destinies and features. But at the same time one sees the likeness of their moral qualities, an inherent common determining trait -- a strong sense of citizenship.

One can state that I observed the forming of the new man from the very beginning, from the very headwaters, as a small boy -- from those unforgettable days of the October Revolution. Then came the flaming years of civil war, overcoming hunger and physical destruction; all this was incised forever in my memory. I was seeing the world at a great turning point, when days were equivalent to years, and years to decades.

As the reader already knows, I grew up in a factory community; I myself went to work at the plant at the age of 15 and was a living witness to how the worker class matured and toughened, assuming responsibility for the destiny of the people and sensing that it was our country's master. They say that the impressions of childhood and adolescence are the strongest, that they remain with a person for his entire life. I was fortunate that during the stormy years, at the point of juncture between eras, I happened to be in a worker milieu, that I was given my first occupation by workers, and that I was indoctrinated by factory Bolsheviks.

My subsequent journey through life was such that no major event in the life of our people passed me by. It is possible that character and upbringing played a role here, but even more important is the fact that the party was leading me forward and indoctrinating me, just as was the case with millions of people of my generation. During the years of my Komsomol youth I ended up in the village, became a land use surveyor, a rayon soviet deputy, and a designated party agent for collectivization. A feeling inherent in every Soviet citizen grew stronger in the course of hard work and my travels throughout our country, a sense of homeland, about which I spoke in the second chapter of this book.

Then the war came down upon us, and these were truly "fateful moments" in the life of our entire people. Together with millions of Soviet officers and men, I went through the war from beginning to end, from the first day to the Victory Parade. The war years are particularly memorable to me, just as they are to every veteran, but can one person tell about everything which took place in the flame of battle, about everything which was seen and experienced?

"Malaya Zemlya" is only a fragment of the vast panorama of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people, a story of the events in a sector extending only a few kilometers. Similar battles of various scale, but everywhere of deadly, implacable fierceness, were taking place along the entire Soviet-German front. And this front extended more than 6,200 kilometers at that time at which our country was in greatest peril -- a distance greater than from the Atlantic to the Urals. I would like the readers, including young people who have not personally experienced war (and, happily, these now comprise a majority), to ponder the scale of the events which were taking place in order better to understand how and why the Soviet soldier was able to hold out, to understand the sources of his heroism and self-sacrifice.

I, as a direct participant in the military operations, saw all events through the eyes of a battle-front political worker. But I am confident that every combat veteran, regardless of his rank or in what combat arm he served, will confirm the immutable fact that here as well, in mortal combat with the enemy, Communists proved that they are people of a special mold. Their determining

trait is a unity of word and deed. They are always together with the people, wherever great deeds are being performed, wherever things are most difficult. And our battle cry "Communists, forward!" has rung out and continues to ring out at all stages in the struggle of the Soviet people for a bright future, inspiring the masses to accomplish exploits, and inspiring terror in the ranks of our enemies. Let us recall, for example, party mobilizations during the first years of Soviet rule, the struggle against the enemies of the young republic during the years of civil war and intervention, when a party congress marched out in full strength onto the ice at Kronshtadt. Let us recall the construction projects of the first five-year plans and collectivization of the village, when thousands upon thousands of loyal warriors responded to the party's call and proceeded to wherever the party assigned them.

This was also the case in the Great Patriotic War. Soviet citizens of the older generation remember the crowds of volunteers at the military commissariats during the first hours following announcement of general mobilization -- the majority of these were Communists. Millions of party members went to the front, including almost one third of the members of the CPSU Central Committee. There was not a single subunit in the Soviet Army, not a single attack, engagement, or battle on the entire gigantic field of battle in which Communists did not inspire the men by means of personal example of courage, self-sacrifice and utter devotion to the homeland. We remember and shall never forget how many valiant, fine sons and daughters of our Leninist party were struck down on the battlefields of the Great Patriotic War. What other party or political organization in the history of mankind has made more holy sacrifices on the altar of its freedom! The Leninist party became that great military leader which throughout the course of World War II ensured a decisive victory by the Soviet people over Hitlerite Germany, saving the world from being overrun by the brown plague.

What veteran of the Great Patriotic War does not remember Victory Day and returning home after interminable days of fighting! But the joy of victory and reuniting with family and loved ones was dampened for us combat veterans and for all Soviet citizens by the sight of our native land which had been ravaged by the fascists.

In "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth] I tried to relate about what we combat veterans found on the ravaged land. It was necessary to begin almost completely anew from the ground up: to give shelter to tens of millions of people, to bring fields back to life, to raise up from the ashes hospitals and schools, factories, mines, and electric power stations. A total of one third of our national wealth had been destroyed. In the chapter "Rebirth" I spoke more about the Ukraine, since it was there where I worked during the postwar period of rebuilding. I recently visited Kiev in connection with the dedication of a memorial complex. I spoke at length with many comrades. I met the republic's party activists. The deeds accomplished by the working people of the Soviet Ukraine left a deep impression on me. During these years they have achieved considerable success, essentially in all areas. And a great deal of the credit for this must go to the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, which for many years has been headed by gifted organizer Vladimir Vasil'yevich Shcherbitskiy.

During those postwar years many people abroad believed that the war, with its burdens and losses, had practically totally exhausted the energies of the people and that they would be unable to raise their country back even to the prewar level. There were also elements in the world which were gloating over this and were making every effort to complicate the domestic and external situation of the Soviet Union. It was they who thrust the notorious "cold war" upon our country. But our people, led by its tried and true vanguard, the Leninist party, was gathering its second wind, and gained a difficult victory this time as well: economic restoration and rebirth were accomplished in an extremely short historical period of time. Once again the world became convinced of the inexhaustible might of a free people and the indisputable advantages of the socialist system. This difficult period became for our party one more test of political wisdom and ability to guide economic development. And it passed this test with flying colors.

I felt that it was necessary to discuss in greater detail party work -- diversified, innovative, totally lacking subjectivism, always lively, and at the same time permeated by a scientific approach to all societal processes. A Leninist party work style presupposes a high degree of demandingness on oneself and on others, precludes smug complacency, rejects superficiality and political empty talk, and opposes all manifestations of bureaucracy and excessive attention to form with subsequent detriment to content. It was necessary to give thought to all this and to carry all this out when after the war I was named to head large oblast party organizations and was subsequently elected first secretary of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party. On that ancient land, which had also suffered from the war, the right-bank part of which had in addition borne the heavy burden of legacy of the past, I felt for the first time responsibility for everything taking place in an entire republic. For the development of agriculture, industry, for improvement in the cultural level of the people and for their prosperity. This is the subject of the chapter "Moldavian Spring," and I must state that a decisive role in the fact that Soviet Moldavia indeed became a springlike blossoming land was played by the struggle of the Moldavian Communists, as well as assistance by all the republics of the USSR, plus the energy of the masses themselves, their strengthened feeling of being master of their destiny, of their economy, of their state.

The fact is that akin to this topic is the epic of development of the virgin and long-fallow lands in Kazakhstan, with which the chapter "Virgin Land" deals. Hundreds of thousands of persons, for the most part young people, responding to an appeal by the Communist Party, moved from developed areas onto the barren steppes, proceeded to populate and farm them, and transform them into one of our country's principal grain producers. The entire countenance of these areas has changed: new towns and settlements, agricultural enterprises, factories and plants, and scientific centers have been built. I have no doubt whatsoever that the plowing up and farming of the virgin lands will remain as one of the brightest stages in the chronicle of accomplishments of our people, an outstanding example of the indomitable revolutionary spirit engendered by the Great October Revolution.

All these chapters deal with highly complex periods in the life of our people and events which are by no means commonplace. The difficulties discussed in

these chapters are of course caused not by the social system of our state but by the special conditions into which our country was placed, prominent among which are external conditions.

Socialism does not demand sacrifice. It is grounded on the power of the entire people and is in the interests of the common good and the free development of each individual. And if Soviet citizens are sometimes required to make sacrifices, this is dictated by necessity, by the high call of duty.

Of course there sometimes occur even in our life clashes between inertia and bold search for the new, and there also occur mistakes and errors of omission. There is some discussion of this in my memoirs, but I would like the reader to see the main point: our people believe in the road they are following; they are convinced that a peaceful tomorrow, prosperity, happiness, and the greatest successes are linked precisely with socialism and communism. And when the Soviet citizen harmonizes his life with these higher goals, his social consciousness commands him to subordinate his personal interests to common interests. This is a determining trait of the new type of personality formed by socialism.

"Cosmic October" tells about one of the most striking historic achievements of the Soviet people, which stunned the world. It was chosen from many primarily because its significance in the history of mankind is extraordinarily great. In addition, the party assigned me the task of directly coordinating activities connected with our advance into space. And in this book I have endeavored always to follow a rule which I set for myself -- to write only about that which I have seen with my own eyes and in which I have taken part.

In this instance as well I got to know true patriots, dedicated to the cause of communism -- outstanding scientists, designers, researchers, and cosmonauts -- and I met innovative teams of workers, construction and erection crews, and I wanted to share my innermost thoughts about the destiny of scientific and technological advance, on the role of intellectuals in the society of developed socialism, and on our remarkable Soviet young people, in whom we see this country's future.

And once again, leafing through the pages of these memoirs, I come to the same conclusion: whatever events have taken place in our history -- in the flame of battles and in productive activity, in the course of political, economic and social transformations of enormous scale, the guiding will of the Communist Party is evident.

The party determines the general strategy of our movement forward, formulates specific development plans, organizes the efforts of Soviet citizens to implement these plans, forms and shapes the harmoniously developed character and personality of the citizen of the socialist society. Of all Soviet citizens, of course including this writer. I have long realized that I definitely owe everything to the party and people, who have faith in their vanguard detachment and are marching behind this tried and proven vanguard.

The will of the party, the will of the Soviet people, and the interests of the socialist homeland always have been the supreme law for me, to which I have

subordinated and continue to subordinate my life. The trust of the party and the trust of the people have been and continue to be important to me above all else.

I have always viewed my work in this way, whatever position I held. But this became especially important to me when in 1964 the party entrusted to me the position of top official in the CPSU Central Committee and I began performing the duties, initially of First Secretary, and subsequently of Central Committee General Secretary. I was given the very highest honor which can be given to a Communist. And of course not only the scale and complexity of my job became different, but also my responsibility to the party and to the people.

3.

Even before the revolution V. I. Lenin emphasized that the party of the worker class "should operate on a /scientific/ [italics] foundation." In this sense our entire history is a history of continuous enrichment of the content and methods of party work with advances in the most diverse sciences -- philosophy, economics, psychology, education science, sociology, etc. Today a scientific approach encompasses not only the domain of substantiation of party policy and determination of the general party line, but also all daily activities connected with guiding this country's affairs. In my opinion this approach embodies the well-known Leninist demand on each and every party member -- to transform Marxism into action.

We have always been helped and continue to be helped in all matters by the party's revolutionary determination and scope, its ability to mobilize the great masses, to guide the labor enthusiasm of the worker class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the intelligentsia toward accomplishment of productive tasks. The party endeavors to combine this great energy of the masses increasingly more closely with systematic, painstaking organizational work, with a consistently scientific approach to managing the economy, with strict discipline and efficiency.

All of us are pleased that Leninist ideas of socialist competition have put down deep roots. We are proud of the fact that Communists march in the vanguard of competition. Competition exerts profound influence on practical economic management, on this country's sociopolitical affairs, and on the moral atmosphere.

Increased responsibility, development of initiative and businesslike efficiency, what I would call socialist enterprise, and instilling of conscious discipline and intolerance toward shortcomings -- these features of a party work style are assuming increasingly more decisive significance.

My entire life experience and party experience confirm an indisputable truth -- success is determined by skilled, responsible workers who correctly understand their tasks, by their professional and political training, and a party-minded attitude toward their duties. Today's leader should organically combine within himself party-mindedness with thorough competence, discipline with initiative and an innovative approach to his job. I always highly value such

leader traits as a sense of the new, the ability to see development prospects, to look into the future, and to find the most correct means to accomplish tasks which arise.

A careful, solicitous attitude toward cadres has been firmly established in our party. Cadres are reassigned when this is dictated by the interests of the cause and the need to strengthen various work sectors. This does not mean, however, that under the pretext of reducing cadre turnover one should leave in their positions those who cannot handle their duties. It is particularly inadvisable to leave in executive positions persons who year after year display a lack of responsibility, who disrupt the smooth operating rhythm of the workforce of an enterprise, association, or even ministry. A position does not by itself ensure prestige or respect.

Lenin's instructions on all-out strengthening of labor discipline remain fully valid in today's conditions. Far from everything which is possible and necessary has been done toward organizing smooth, precise operation and in ensuring labor discipline. We cannot put up with a situation where at certain enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and establishments discipline is sometimes lax, that there are still people who have a negligent attitude toward their job-related duties. A most resolute campaign must be waged against these phenomena. Labor honor must be preserved, and those who forget about it should be severely punished.

A fruitful work style has been developed in party committees over the years, a style based not on haste and sudden rushing, not on jumping to conclusions, but on a detailed, thorough analysis of problems which arise. A scientific approach to party work is a purely businesslike approach. It obliges one to act without wasting time, comparing one's steps with the course of societal development, with the content and spirit of collective decisions.

Today the party Central Committee calls upon party organizations to formulate scientifically substantiated decisions, to demonstrate their political expediency and economic substantiation in a well-reasoned manner. This is the mainline of all our party work.

Party activists are able to see the entire diversity of possibilities of the developed socialist society and always endeavor to find the optimal solution variant for a given problem.

This lively, innovative work is moving forward without interruption, because there are no and can be no solutions which are correct for all times. The strength of theory of scientific communism lies in the fact that it is grounded on revolutionary, materialist dialectics, which always demand a concrete analysis of a concrete situation. In our daily work we extensively utilize those tested methods of party leadership which have proven themselves in a practical manner. And at the same time we are called upon to be innovators in the search for new methods which correspond to the present situation to the greatest degree and which make it possible with maximum effectiveness to accomplish the tasks of advancing further toward communism.

Reflecting on this, I recalled one of the points of the resolution of the 10th Congress of the RCP(b), which states: "The party of revolutionary Marxism fundamentally rejects the search for an absolutely correct form of party organization which is suited for all stages of the revolutionary process, as well as party organization work methods. On the contrary, the form of organization and work methods are determined entirely by the specific features of the given concrete historical situation and by those tasks which proceed directly from this situation." We are faithful to this Leninist principle, and we shall remain ever faithful to it.

The character of the work of all party agencies, including the Central Committee, Politburo, Secretariat, and Central Committee departments, is determined primarily by that role which the party plays in our country.

The range of issues with which I am authorized to deal as CPSU Central Committee General Secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet is quite extensive and responsible. I must constantly deal with practically all domains of the affairs of the people, everything taking place throughout our country. Of course international affairs also require considerable efforts.

Soviet citizens are clearly cognizant of the fact that the highest aim of party activities is the welfare and happiness of the people. They perceive party policy as their own policy and entrust the party with a leadership role in society. We Communists are proud of this, and all our thoughts are directed toward being worthy of the trust of the great Soviet people.

This trust did not come spontaneously but was earned in the flame of battle and in productive labor. And the more stress-filled various periods in our country's history have been, the greater has been the influx of working people into party ranks. At the most dangerous moment of the civil war, when the enemy was on the approaches to Tula and Moscow, tens of thousands of intrepid fighting men became Communists. In 1924, during the Leninist appeal, more than 240,000 workers joined the party. More than 5 million persons joined the party during the years of the Great Patriotic War.

These are all historical facts; they are known abroad as well, but the enemies of the Soviet nation, sometimes failing to understand the essence of our political system, and more frequently deliberately distorting it, attempt to set off the party in opposition to the people. These efforts are in vain! They claim, for example, that in this country the party usurps the functions of all other governmental and public organizations.

What should we reply to this? It is a well-known fact that the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Council of Ministers, republic authorities, and local soviets have clearly defined authorities specified by the Constitution. They draw up laws, monitor their implementation, and ensure efficient operation of the entire economic organism and development of science, culture, public education, health care, and environmental protection. Public organizations have their own domain of activities: trade unions concern themselves primarily with protecting the interests of working people, Komsomol is engaged in indoctrinating youth,

and important tasks are performed by voluntary societies, associations, unions of creative artists, and the party seeks to activate them in every possible way and encourages their initiative.

We shall state quite frankly that we have a stake in vigorous activities by this entire political system, the nucleus, inspiring and guiding force of which has been and continues to be the Communist Party. It tirelessly indoctrinates all working people in a spirit of strong moral fiber and devotion to the socialist homeland and the cause of communism, fosters development of a Communist attitude toward labor and public ownership, comprehensive development of the individual, and creation of a genuine wealth of spiritual and intellectual culture.

The party unites the vanguard, most conscious and active segment of the worker class, peasantry, and the intelligentsia. It joins together people of all social groups, all nationalities and generations, and arms them with the willingness and ability to fight for the ideals of the most just system on earth -- communism. And the role and significance of the Communist Party are increasing together with growth of the tasks which are being accomplished by the people on this great journey. This is a logical phenomenon which proceeds from the needs of society. It is the law governing our lives.

4.

Wherever I visit -- and in this regard there are not too many "blank spots" left on the map of our country -- I observe how all threads of the life of our people extend to the party, not in theory but in practice, and I see how there proceeds from the party the most vigorous influence on all cells of the societal organism.

Let us say, for example, that one arrives in a large industrial and cultural center. A population of 1 million, hundreds of factories, construction jobs, and institutes. Constant traffic on the streets, tough plans, and thousands of diversified activities. And at first glance it seems that people's strivings and aspirations are diverse -- interest in one's job, concern with one's home and family, and a taste for customary human joys. Arguments and instances of discord occur, but in the final analysis plans are fulfilled, life becomes better, and everything proceeds smoothly and harmoniously.... Who harmonizes our overall forward stride? Who gives a unified directional thrust and lofty common significance to things?

There is one answer: the party. People come to party organizations with their advice, complaints, suggestions, with their hopes and concerns. They come because they know that here they will get action, here they will be understood, and they will be helped. They believe in this because they have time and again seen the effectiveness of party influence and the ability of our party to unite the innumerable rivulets of practical activities, to guide them into a common channel, to transform them into a mighty stream, and to give accelerating impulses to societal development as a whole.

Communists are strong because of the people's trust; Communists consider the people to be their most important political capital and endeavor not only to

preserve but to increase that capital. We shall never forget the following outstanding precept voiced by our party's founder and leader: "Live among the masses. Know moods and attitudes. Know everything. Understand the masses. Have the ability to approach them. Earn their absolute trust."

This instruction by Lenin reveals in concise, synopsized form the strategy and tactics of the party's work among the masses and contains a program for deepening the party's organic bond with the people.

Vladimir Il'ich Lenin stressed time and again that a vanguard detachment alone cannot build a new society. A vanguard, he stated, "performs the tasks of vanguard only when it is able to remain in a close link with the masses it leads, and when it truly has the ability to lead the entire masses forward." A forward detachment fears no obstacles when it is followed by an entire army. And there is nothing more hopeless than the position of a vanguard, even an intrepid vanguard, if it becomes detached from the main forces.

It is quite obvious that without the monolithic unity and the strengthening bond between Communists and the masses, we would not have achieved historic victories in past years, nor all that which we have achieved today -- at the stage of developed socialism. When the people and party are united, when their aspirations and passions are inseparably linked, we can accomplish the most difficult tasks!

This is why the party considers as its duty constantly to listen to the opinion of the masses and to inform the people about party policy, about plans for the future, and about events both at home and abroad. As we know, in order to accomplish this we seek to improve operations of the press, television, radio, all means of information dissemination, and we are raising the level of ideological work.

I also am commissioned by the Central Committee to speak in public -- at trade union and Komsomol congresses, at teachers' congresses, at large enterprises, in military units, at meetings of party-economic activists, and at public gatherings in many cities, towns and villages. I always perceive these trips as performance of the primary duty of the leader-Communist. I always endeavor to explain to working people the strategy and tactics of our party, to report accurately and in detail on the results of our common efforts, and to speak frankly and in a straightforward manner about difficulties and unresolved problems. As a rule such appearances involve a speakers' time schedule; other persons also speak, and a certain time is allocated to all scheduled speakers. But during breaks, while touring factory shops, kolkhoz or sovkhoz fields I try to get to know people, to inquire about their daily lives, to listen carefully to everything they want to say to me, and simply to look them in the eye. I must confess that I always derive new energy for my work in contact with others. These contacts help me look deeper into the lives of our working people and to gain better knowledge of the thoughts, needs and aspirations of the people.

Upon returning to my office, I continuously read not only official papers and documents received by the Central Committee but also letters from working people, coming in from all over the country. Usually we receive 1,500-2,000

letters every day at the Central Committee. This number increases significantly at the time of major historic events.

These letters contain kind words from Communists and party-unaffiliated, voice concern about our homeland's future, vigorous support for party policy, and lively interest in all its affairs. I cannot read these letters without feeling moved. Indeed, people sit down after work and write about what concerns them, or they head for the telegraph office during the night in order immediately to report something which in their opinion brooks no delay. They present not only personal but also public problems, and they report not only successes but negative phenomena as well and, which is gratifying, as a rule they have the national interest at heart, making suggestions which they feel are important and useful for everybody.

If we consider the fact that such letters are also sent to local party and soviet agencies and that they are published every day in our newspapers, we are dealing here essentially with a unique phenomenon which is characteristic only of the Soviet way of life. Of course some opinions may prove to be naive, and not every initiative merits adoption forthwith. But on the whole we are dealing with historical innovation, the experience of the people, and the people are wise, apply common sense in all their judgments, focus a steady gaze on life and see a great distance.

I ask almost every day: what are they writing about, what kind of letters have arrived today? I request that the comrades give me both positive letters and negative letters containing criticism. And although of course it would be physically impossible for me even to leaf through all the mail which arrives, I am regularly briefed on the basic content of the mail. But the most interesting letters are placed on my desk; sometimes I must read them through more than once.

The other members of the Central Committee also receive information about everything meriting attention contained in letters from working people. We scoop from the well of popular wisdom, as it were, more and more new ideas for our concrete work activities. The most important warnings and suggestions are examined at the Politburo and Central Committee Secretariat, and are considered in drafting decrees and laws.

The link between the party and the masses is not broken for a single day. The mail delivered to the Kremlin or to Moscow's Staraya Ploshchad' [Old Square], where the CPSU Central Committee buildings are located, is only one manifestation of such continuous contacts. But it eloquently attests to the fact that the people and party are united by a feeling of common responsibility for the future of communism.

The party vitally needs a continuous exchange of views with the worker masses. The very ability of party organizations to function depends directly on the depth, strength, and diversity of contacts with the people. And it is necessary carefully and attentively to examine the state of the contacts, to make sure that the rust of bureaucracy has not developed in any elements of the machinery of government and to determine whether various forms of this work activity have become obsolete.

I was once invited to speak at a conference held by the Central Committee. It was in May 1976; my day had been scheduled out in advance, with a full agenda, loaded to the gunwales, as they say, but this was a special case. The chiefs of the general departments of oblast and kray committees and the central committees of the Communist parties of the union republics had gathered in Moscow. And I could not refuse to meet with these comrades, particularly since they convene only infrequently.

I remember going to the meeting without elaborate speech notes, just a general outline. I emphasized that a great deal had been entrusted to them. I spoke about the firmness of Leninist standards of party conduct, about improving the work style of our administrative edifice, and on further development of intraparty democracy. And of course I could not fail to speak in connection with this about what was of constant concern to me -- the need to strengthen contacts between the party and the people. I reminded them that letters written by working people, their petitions, advice, suggestions, and proposals which are delivered every day to party agencies represent thousands and tens of thousands of Soviet citizens. On their own, without instructions from higher up, at their own initiative, they present valuable ideas and suggestions, and naturally they expect a fair and prompt evaluation of their labor. This is not a technical bureaucratic matter but rather an achievement-oriented organizational matter.

I felt it was useful and necessary to speak about all this; the subject was very interesting to me, but nevertheless I kept looking at my watch. I said to the presiding officer: "Perhaps I should wind things up." "No," he replied, "please go on."

Some time later: "Have I said enough?"

He smiled, "We are in no hurry. We have plenty of time."

And as verbatim records of proceedings phrase it, the audience was astir.

No, I said to myself, you can be late for your other business. I finished, said good-bye to these comrades, but that evening I began to be annoyed -- I had forgotten to mention this, I had forgotten that, I had failed completely to clarify another thing.... Now, however, as I take pen to hand, I see that it is impossible to say everything there is to say.

Through joint efforts we are creating an integral science of the party's leadership role and the mechanisms of its development at the stage of mature socialism. CPSU instructions on further research on problems of party organizational development are reflected in many important documents of recent years. I should like here, however, to share a few thoughts which have arisen in specific situations -- during my travels around the country and contacts with cadre workers, party activists, and working people.

5.

Thoughts about the glorious Leninist party are always of a multiple-aspect nature. Influencing factors here include the very nature and essence of party activities --

comprehensive in content, with influence permeating our entire society. One main theme has long been present in my constant thoughts about the party, a theme which can be formulated as follows: the party and building communism.

Communism for us is not a sentimental dream, not grandiose fancies, but a quite realistic, tangible goal and inspired practical work. We do not simply want to make everybody happy and to create conditions for the free development of each and every individual, for the total material prosperity of all members of society, for life according to the laws of justice, equality and brotherhood. We know how to accomplish this. Naturally at the present time not in all the finer details and not to the entire extent of time up to the victory of communism. Much remains to be determined within the process of economic-political and cultural building. But the further we advance, the more confidently and skillfully we shall be operating.

Our journey, just as that of all pioneers, is difficult and complex. In order not to wander off the trail, a good compass is needed. Such a compass for us has been and will continue to be Marxist-Leninist teaching, which guides the party in formulating the plans for building communism. We not only have obtained and continue to obtain knowledge about the laws of societal development from the legacy of the founders of scientific communism -- Marx, Engels, and Lenin. They have also passed on to us that lasting, eternally young force against which no bastions of oppression and exploitation can stand. This force is a methodology of cognizing the world and revolutionary reorganization of social realities.

Our strength is multiplied by the party from generation to generation. It lies in the spiritual enthusiasm of millions of people, in their productive activities, their strong moral fiber, organization, and unswerving faith in the triumph of our cause.

/We call ourselves Communists because the ideas of communism are to be found in all our aspirations and deeds/ [double-spaced words].

Our party and its Leninist Central Committee are tirelessly performing an enormous collective task of profound analysis of contemporary socioeconomic and political processes, of studying the trends of societal development, and formulation of this country's domestic and foreign policy. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo is making an enormous creative contribution toward this fruitful party activity. The work performed by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo is permeated with deep theoretical and ideological content, which arms Communists and all working people with a clear understanding of the prospects and tasks of our struggle for a Communist tomorrow.

All our party leaders work with a great deal of vigor, devoting their energies, experience and knowledge to the higher interests of the party and people, the economic and social advance of our homeland, and the cause of communism and peace.

Full members and nonvoting members of the Politburo and the CPSU Central Committee secretaries have an interesting life filled with labor, and possess

considerable experience in party and governmental activities. I have already discussed some of these comrades. At this point I should like to say a few words about a person with whom I have been bound by many years of party work -- Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov. I greatly appreciate his party-minded modesty, his humanity, and his outstanding professional abilities. He has traveled a great and glorious road of Komsomol and party work. I greatly appreciate such persons.

Our party is fated to travel an unbeaten track of history. Each step forward we take is a new stage of a new society. It is not a find of easy good fortune or a gift of blind chance. Everything is obtained in struggle with difficulties and requires productive energy and purposefulness.

It is no easy task to sweep away all the old and obsolete in socioeconomic relations, to nurture and develop the shoots of the new. It demands not only knowledge, experience, and scientific foresight, but also courage, boldness, and the willingness to give 100 percent to others. It is a struggle, and it is work. Somebody must be willing to accept the most difficult and hardest job, that which is perhaps beyond the capability of others. Communists accept this task. They have only one privilege -- to give more than others to the common cause, to struggle and work better than others for the sake of the triumph of this cause. They have only one special right -- to be wherever the going is most difficult.

/We call ourselves Communists because we are building communism/ [double-spaced words].

Yes, we are builders in the most capacious meaning of the word. A building rises out of thousands upon thousands of bricks. The destiny of our people consists of thousands upon thousands of individual destinies. The people have entrusted the building of this future to their vanguard detachment, to their finest sons and daughter. It was the worker class which first placed this great trust in us -- today its ideals, its fundamental goals and interests have become the ideals, goals and interests of all this country's toilers. Communists long ago took upon themselves the great responsibility for the people's future. We have amassed enormous political and organizational experience in fighting for victory and consolidation of socialism. The party, as the guiding and directing force of the Soviet society, pointed out the general direction of further forward movement and is successfully mobilizing the masses for its implementation.

/We call ourselves Communists because we are leading the people toward communism/ [double-spaced words].

Our party is a party not only of like-minded people but of like-acting people as well. When it became the first of the world's Communist parties to be a ruling party, Vladimir Il'ich Lenin assigned it a main task, calculated to run through an entire era -- to guide the building of a new society. Our leader called upon Communists to be worthy of this, as he stated, most difficult and most noble task -- to organize in a new manner the deepest foundations of the life of millions. The developed socialist society which has been built in the

Soviet Union, each new Soviet five-year plan, and each new working day is proof that the Communist Party is honorably accomplishing the task assigned by Lenin.

/We call ourselves Communists because we are building the road to communism for all the peoples of the Earth by force of our example/ [double-spaced words].

Our party has always been true to its international duty. Each individual and the entire people have a single homeland. Soviet citizens are totally devoted to their homeland and wish it well above all else. We have achieved prosperity for all the republics of the USSR. At the behest of a great feeling -- proletarian internationalism -- we are developing and strengthening on a common foundation the socialist community -- one of the greatest achievements of our era. All progressive mankind emulates the world of socialism and checks the clock of history according to this world.

The hopes of millions of working people in Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, and the Americas are dear to our hearts; we cannot be indifferent to the fate and burdens of peoples which have thrown off the fetters of colonialism and which are journeying to a new life. Each country has its own path of development, which should be defined by the people of that country. But the forces of imperialism are not simply yielding ground and giving up their colonies. Often when granting them "independence," they at the same time endeavor, utilizing economic and other difficulties, to entangle them with new, more sophisticated fetters, the chains of neocolonialism. There still exist politicians who are concerned only with their own welfare, extracting profit from war, hunger, and the misfortunes of peoples. Such "political activity" is unacceptable to us, because we are Communists.

The Communist and worker movement has long since become not only international but truly worldwide. Today there is not a single country in the world in which an organized struggle by working people for embodiment of the great teaching of Marx-Lenin has not developed in one form or another. This struggle is led by Communists, who frequently must operate, as was once the case with our party as well, in conditions of deep underground activity, the most savage persecution and repression. At the same time it is significant that today Communist and worker parties in many countries of the capitalist world have become an impressive national force.

And one should certainly not be surprised that the invincible movement of the contemporary era, fortified by the indisputable achievements of genuine socialism, evokes rabid anger and furious resistance on the part of all regressive forces in the doomed world of capital, for our Communist ideology constitutes that Archimedes lever which is being used to accomplish a radical turn in the history of mankind toward a bright future.

In connection with this I should like to mention one of the most widespread myths in the arsenal of Western propagandists as well as of certain Western politicians. As soon as peoples and toilers make an attempt, particularly a successful attempt, at some new point on earth to regain that which belongs to them by rights, there occurs a flood of lies about a "guiding hand," which of course refers to our country, either stated outright or by suggestion.

Yes, we support those who are struggling for their social and national liberation, and we consider this struggle just. We rejoice at the successes of peace-loving peoples which are toppling rotten regimes and establishing their countries' independence. It is lamentable that some Western leaders cannot see that the process of rapid national and social transformations taking place in the world is developing on the basis of its own objective laws. Revolutionary changes mature only on a national foundation. To ascribe them to "machinations by Moscow" is to delude the public within their own countries.

Formulating and implementing the principles of détente and the entire Peace Program, the Soviet Union has not sought and does not seek any benefits or advantages for itself. Peace is desired in equal measure by all people and all nations on Earth. By absolutely all! Any talk about a "Soviet military threat" and all attempts to ascribe aggressive intentions to us are lies which play into the hands of those who would sow seeds of enmity between peoples.

Respect for other peoples and for their right independently to determine their own destiny is a Leninist demand, and it remains forever in force for us members of the Leninist party. This is one of the basic tenets of the CPSU. It is not the expert of revolution but rather the inspirational example of genuine socialism, with all its achievements for the benefit of man and on behalf of man, which arouses minds and calls to battle peoples which are still oppressed by the power of the moneybag. Herein lies the clear logic of development of mankind, which permeates Marxist-Leninist teaching.

Every sober-minded person in today's world must see how striking is the example, on the background of interrelationships among the capitalist nations, which are being torn by internal and external conflicts, of the nations of the socialist community -- this principal achievement of genuine socialism on an international scale. Fairly recently the family of brother peoples of the socialist countries officially celebrated the 30th anniversary of the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance -- an organization which embodies a qualitatively new, socialist type of cooperation among nations and international division of labor. Our mutual relations, and not only in the economic domain but also in all other areas of sociopolitical affairs, are grounded on the firm principles of equality, voluntary participation, sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutual benefit and mutual understanding. And these are not mere slogans but rather the living, practical activities of the Council, just as of the entire life of the fraternal family of socialist nations.

Today uniting 10 socialist nations in Europe, Asia, and the Americas, with a total population of 435 million people, CEMA produces more than one third of world industrial output! This is a solid foundation for further successes by the community of brother nations and a steady rise in the prosperity of each and every working person within this community, a foundation created by the efforts of peoples, under the guidance of Communist and worker parties!

The CPSU and the brother Communist and worker parties of the socialist countries constitute the heart and soul of a great community of peoples, the first such community in the history of mankind. They are steadily advancing their greatest achievement -- international socialism. These are parties of a special stamp: they not only forged themselves out in harsh struggle, the flesh and

blood of their peoples, but also ensured the victory of their historic cause, became the ruling parties within their own countries, and their people have entrusted their future to these parties. In these past decades the brother parties have demonstrated with flying colors that the working people of the socialist countries did not err in their choice, following their vanguard to a new life.

I have repeatedly visited the majority of the brother socialist countries. I can affirm that I am acquainted with their life, their problems and achievements. I know these things from unforgettable get-togethers with the workers of Red Csepel and the Warsaw Metallurgical Combine, with Bulgarian grape growers, and with the people of Prague, Bucharest and Berlin, Havana and Ulaanbaatar. Yes, we socialist peoples chose the difficult and honorable destiny of being pioneers of the future, building a bright path for all mankind. Our road is not a well-trodden urban avenue. It is a road which we are building, like a highway in the taiga, step by step, kilometer by kilometer. We Communists are accustomed to thinking critically and critically evaluating what has been accomplished: we are clearly aware of what we have not yet accomplished, and we know what the specific difficulties and deficiencies are -- as they say, there are enough for the rest of our century, but that is the reason we are Communists, in order to overcome everything for the sake of the happiness and prosperity of our peoples.

When I attempt in my mind's eye to create a generalized picture of a Communist, I see tried and proven comrades in the struggle -- leaders of the brother Communist and worker parties, with whom I am bound by a firm and high-principled party and personal friendship. We get together not only on holidays, on the occasion of major events, such as congresses of brother parties, or during official visits. I can state without exaggeration that we confer with one another on a more regular basis as well. The leaders of the brother parties of the socialist countries are in constant, daily contact with one another. Formulating a common position, strategy and tactics of common actions, our countries proceed at all times and in all things from the root interests of each of our peoples and of the entire socialist community as a whole. The mutual relations of the brother Communist and worker parties and their leaders are grounded on this; they have taken on their shoulders the entire historic responsibility for the future destiny of mankind, which is already today modeled in the achievements of genuine socialism.

The dream of the great thinkers of many centuries -- the dream of socialism -- is embodied in concrete deeds in our land. Genuine socialism has been built. And our strength derives from the fact that we serve humane goals, that all our work is dedicated to serving the people, their welfare and happiness. It derives from the fact that we are struggling to implement the finest ideals of all mankind -- for building communism.

The activities of the Communist Party have always been focused toward the future, but at the same time the party must address the concerns of today. The one is inseparably linked to the other. The best example of this is the Peace Program which we Soviet Communists advanced and which we, together with our friends and allies, are unswervingly implementing. Nor do I want to diminish my labor in this: preserving peace on earth is one of today's most fundamental tasks; it is not only close to my thoughts -- I am filled with energy and

desire to do everything possible to prevent another war from happening. The future of mankind depends on accomplishment of this task.

Of course this is an extremely complex problem and, at times, quite tangled, but not through our fault. I should like to state it in simple human terms. What benefit is derived -- not only to the Soviet people but to all the peoples of the world -- by the talks on putting a halt to the arms race, talks which were started at our initiative? Why were we working so urgently to prepare for these talks over the course of 10 years?

Historians affirm that the chronicle of mankind records that our planet has experienced almost 15,000 wars. Approximately 4 billion people -- armies, whole generations, civilizations -- have been struck down in wars. A calculation shows that there have been only four centuries of peace in the more than 5000 years of man's recorded history!

These figures are frightful, but even they do not tell the whole story. As history has advanced, wars have become more savage and encompassing. Wars began killing not only soldiers but civilians as well -- women, children, and the elderly, living hundreds of kilometers from the battle line. Wars have acquired increasingly greater destructive force; now nuclear arsenals have been created, and a threat hangs over not only individual countries but the entire planet as a whole.

And the fact that the socialist countries are entering their 37th spring in a state of peace, that Soviet citizens have not known war now for more than a third of a century, and the idea of peace has put down deep roots in the consciousness of the peoples of all countries and of all continents is unquestionably to the credit of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko has headed the Soviet diplomatic effort for many years. He has devoted a great deal of energy and talent to this activity, which is of exceptional importance for our people.

The homeland of the October Revolution proclaimed its main objective to peoples during the very first hours of its history -- to fight for peace throughout the world. Lenin's ideas of peaceful coexistence have always been determining in our foreign policy. Today as well they are leading us forward, prompting wise restraint on our part, respect for the interests of other nations, an honest endeavor to find a common tongue, to bargain, and to exchange scientific and cultural achievements. And if disputes arise, they should be settled by peaceful means, not by saber rattling, as is typical of some even in our century.

Much has been said in my memoirs about scientific substantiation of party policy. There is also simple common sense, however -- it too is a pretty fair adviser. When conducting talks we of course study many factors and rely on the forecasts of scientists. But even without electronic computers it is obvious to every sensible person that peoples do not want war but peace. I know that millions of my countrymen think likewise. I am convinced -- once again without any special public opinion polls -- that the absolute majority of

the earth's population is against destroying it with a deadly war. Persons with even a tiny bit of common sense could not think otherwise.

* * *

Thus there are two things which always have been and will continue to be closest to my heart, which always have been and will continue to be the object of my principal concerns. These are bread for our people and national security.

The reader knows that in the course of my life I have witnessed times when our country was in a state of general devastation, when our people were going through incredible suffering from hunger and cold. I have also gone through the flames of the fiercest battles, and I have seen with my own eyes the death and hell, the fires and destruction which the aggressor brought to a peaceful socialist land.

Experiencing all this, I swore to myself that I would do everything in my power to ensure that it never happens again.

And I am doing my best to carry out this oath in the high positions which the party and people have entrusted to me.

Today as well I know of no higher goal.

And I shall continue in the future doing everything I can to ensure that life becomes better for Soviet citizens year by year, that our children and grandchildren are happy, and that our party's Leninist policy achieves total victory -- a policy of a steady rise in the people's living standards, securing peace and national security, and building a bright Communist future.

It worth living on this earth for the sake of this. One can give unstintingly of one's time and energy for the sake of this. One must work and continue to work for the sake of this noble goal.

Moscow, 1977-1982

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